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PUBLISHED BY THE DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

THE ART QUARTERLY is published each Winter, Spring, Summer, and Autumn, by the Detroit Institute of Arts of the City of Detroit 2, Michigan. Price: \$1.25 per copy, \$5.00 per year. Entered as second-class matter February 24, 1938, at the post office at Detroit, Michigan, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Peter Magill, advertising representative
Room 300, 625 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

The ART Quarterly

PUBLISHED BY THE DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

Edited by W. R. VALENTINER and E. P. RICHARDSON

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VOLUME IX

NUMBER 3

SUMMER, 1946

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VOL. IX, NO. 3

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*Fig. 1. FLEMISH, 15TH CENTURY, The Building of the Tower of Babel
The Hague, Mauritshuis*

SANDERS AND SIMON BENING AND GERARD HORENBOUT

By PAUL WESCHER

THE important part played by the Ghent-Bruges school of miniature painting in the development of this phase of fifteenth century Flemish art, is now seen in a new light as a result of recent discoveries. The indefatigable explorer of Flemish painting, the late Georges Hulin de Loo, as early as 1924 expressed his opinion, and strengthened it with new arguments in 1931 and 1939, that the outstanding anonymous artist, the so-called Master of Mary of Burgundy, should be identified with Alexander or Sanders Bening of Ghent.¹ This thesis was confirmed and amplified by Dr. F. Winkler in 1942² and has since become almost a certainty: the analogies between documents and the circumstances of Sanders Bening's life correspond most convincingly with the art, the dates and the works of the hitherto anonymous Master of Mary of Burgundy.

A second discovery by Hulin de Loo has further supplemented this first one in a most fortunate way. He pointed out that the number of miniatures in the well-known Prayer Book, the *Libro d'ore* of Bona Sforza, now in the British Museum (Add. Ms. 34244), added to the Milanese illuminations of the book in the years 1519-1520 by order of Margaret of Austria, correspond exactly with the number of those miniatures for which Gerard Horenbout of Ghent received payment in 1521, which means that Horenbout finished the *Libro d'ore*.³ Dr. Winkler, with his comprehensive knowledge of Flemish miniatures, further confirms Hulin's analysis: that Horenbout was the principal master among the illuminators of the Grimani Breviary at Venice.⁴

These latest researches in this long-neglected field have led to new suppositions which confront us with other new problems. The corrections, which Winkler himself has in the meantime added to his *Flemish Book Painting*,⁵ speak clearly for themselves. If we follow in detail the numerous repetitions of motives, such as were customary within the circle of the Bening and Horenbout school, we come to the conclusion that new results can be gained only by a thorough comparative study of the manuscripts, which is not yet possible. The following contribution only touches upon some of these questions at various points and its aim is for the present to contribute material so far unknown or unobserved.

From Hulin's and Winkler's researches it appears that Ghent and not Bruges was the real center and origin of the new book painting in the second half of the fifteenth century, and that the predominating and always acknowledged influence which Hugo van der Goes exerted upon it is therefore explained by reason of locality. In the first place it was Sanders Bening at Ghent, the Master of Mary of Burgundy, who initiated a new realistic conception and, in so doing, raised Flemish miniature painting to the same high level developed in Flemish panel painting by Goes, Bouts, Memling and others. Bening, as distinct from all his predecessors and contemporaries, progressed to a point similar to that attained in France by Fouquet two decades earlier. He passed beyond the naïve and stiff manner of Vrelant, Mazerolles, Tavernier and others and finally liberated Flemish miniature painting from the French influence to which it had been constantly subjected during the reign of Philip the Good. Otto Pächt⁶ observed correctly that neither Simon Mar-mion, nor Durrieu's "Pseudo-Bening," nor the so-called Prayer Book Master of Dresden transferred so consistently the style of the great painting into book art or gave it so much of an illustrative genre of its own as did Sanders Bening.

Sanders Bening first introduced in place of the old-fashioned French tendril decorations in frames and edges the new naturalistic motives, which later developed so successfully and served as a prototype far beyond the Netherlands borders in France (Bourdichon) and Germany (Glockendon). His best works, such as the *Prayer Book of Mary of Burgundy*, after which he was named; the four greater miniatures in the *Prayer Book of Charles the Bold* (Vienna); the *Prayer Book of Engelbert of Nassau* (Oxford); the fragments at Berlin and Madrid, the titlepage in the *Chronicle of the Dukes of Cleve* (Munich), the "older" *Prayer Book of Emperor Maximilian I* at Vienna, all are unsurpassed treasures of rich pictorial invention, awareness of nature and artistic perfection. Although Sanders Bening is not explicitly known as a court painter, he worked for the court circle during nearly three decades and produced his first works for Charles the Bold and his consort Margaret of York, an ardent book lover. As a great book collector Philip of Cleve (whose library it would be an interesting task to reconstruct) seems especially to have appreciated the master. The so-called "older" *Prayer Book of Maximilian I* (Vienna, Cod. 19070), which in Winkler's *Flemish Book Painting* still figures among the works of the Master of the Hortulus, was first recognized by Hulin de Loo as a principal and significant example of Bening's later art, to which

also belongs another book made for the Emperor, the *Poems of Nagonius* (Vienna, Cod. 12750).

When Sanders Bening entered the Ghent painters guild in 1469, Hugo van der Goes and Joos van Wassenhove, the two most important painters, vouched for him. Goes had joined the guild in 1467 and Bening probably came in close personal touch with him for in 1480 he married Catheleen van der Goes, the great master's niece. How close his artistic connection with Goes must have been is evident from most of his works. This dependence, together with the fact that a number of manuscripts have been proved to have originated at Ghent, formed the chief argument for Hulin's identification. The same Hippolyth Berthoz, for whom Goes painted an altarpiece as counterpart to Dirk Bouts' *Martyrdom of Hippolythos* (Bruges, St. Jacques) also ordered a prayer book from Bening (White Collection, New York). Winkler, who records this,⁷ believes that more than one of Goes' lost compositions may have been transmitted to us by Bening and his school. If we take for instance a typical late work of Sanders Bening, the miniature of Saint Barbara in the prayer book of the Berlin Print Room (78 B 14) (Fig. 2) (the kneeling lady's portrait in the frame is a later addition as well as the coat-of-arms) the correctness of this observation becomes evident.

A. E. Popham's article in *Art in America*, 1928,⁸ one of the most valuable contributions to the study of the Master of Mary of Burgundy, extends the investigation of Bening's activity beyond the miniatures into drawings. Besides the two known Folios contained in the Berlin Print Room, a study with numerous male heads and an allegorical or purely decorative subject depicting a pheasant with some figures, Popham called attention to some preliminary sketches for miniatures in the British Museum and in the Masson Collection, now at the Ecole des Beaux Arts at Paris. More recently Otto Pächt⁹ attributed to the master the two well-known silverpoint drawings of heads of the Madonna by Rogier or the Rogier school at Rotterdam and Amsterdam, unconvincingly it seems to me. The characteristics of the original drawings by Bening consist especially in the short-stroke manner of shading, which is also characteristic of Goes, and furthermore of the miniature technique of Bening himself. We can find this same method of drawing and all the other characteristic traits of Bening in two hitherto unrecorded studies for complete compositions once in the Koenigs collection at Haarlem, now at the Boymans Museum at Rotterdam. One of these drawings represents the *Transfiguration of Christ* (Fig. 4), the other the *Descent of the Holy Ghost*

(Fig. 6), with Mary and the Apostles to be seen in a Gothic chapel. Both, damaged at present, were evidently intended as preliminary studies for miniatures such as were used in the workshops of the book painters. The left half of the architectural crowning in the representation of *Pentecost* was not carried out by pen, and the chalk drawing has remained visible; a certain proof that we have to do with a preliminary sketch rather than a copy.

Under the present circumstances I have not been able to establish whether these two drawings were used in one of the prayer books of Sanders Bening. They are, however, each to be found in the Grimani Breviary in more or less related miniatures. The composition of the *Descent of the Holy Ghost* (Fig. 7) is the same in all parts. In the *Transfiguration of Christ* (Fig. 5) the two Apostles to the left are different: the figure of St. John seated with his arm above his head appears in similar position in the painting of the *Transfiguration* by Gerard David in the museum at Bruges.

In the Grimani Codex and within the group of manuscripts related to it, compositions of Sanders Bening have been borrowed by his followers in many other instances. This procedure can be considered as typical rather than extraordinary. Pächt¹⁰ has mentioned the fact that the *Mass for the Dead* in the Grimani Codex was compiled from two of Bening's miniatures in the prayer book at Oxford (Bodleian, Mss. 220, 223). In the miniature representing *Saint Fabian and Saint Sebastian*, also in the Grimani Codex, the figure of Sebastian has been copied from the older prayer book of Emperor Maximilian at Vienna. The *Annunciation* of the Grimani Codex agrees with a single cut out miniature of Sanders Bening, which was auctioned in 1930 with the Czecowizka Collection of Vienna at Graupe's in Berlin (Cat. no. 19) (Fig. 3). The same composition of the *Annunciation* is also to be found in the *Breviary of Queen Eleonor of Portugal* in the Morgan Library (Ms. 52), the principal miniatures of which resemble the later style of Bening, though pointing just as much to that of Gerard Horenbout. A. E. Popham¹¹ has already shown that the two drawings of Sanders Bening in the British Museum and the Ecole des Beaux Arts have also been used in later miniatures: the former with the *Flight into Egypt* (Joseph and Mary in front of an inn) in the lower part of the frame of *The Nativity* in the Breviary of the Mayer van den Bergh Collection at Antwerp; the latter with the *David dances before Saul* in the same manuscript and in the *Breviary of Eleonor of Portugal* in the Morgan Library. These few examples, which could certainly be added to, show what an important role as inventor Sanders Bening played and how his prototypes



*Fig. 3. SANDERS BENING, Annunciation
Formerly Vienna, Czecowizka Coll.*



*Fig. 2. SANDERS BENING, St. Barbara
Berlin Print Room, Prayer Book*



Fig. 4. FLEMISH, 15TH CENTURY, *Transfiguration of Christ*
Rotterdam, Boymans Museum



Fig. 5. *Transfiguration of Christ*
From the Grimani Breviary

permanently influenced the entire group of younger illuminators at Ghent.

Based on this extensive comparative material in miniatures and drawings which is known today, we may go one step further and discover Sanders Bening also as a panel painter. The Mauritshuis at the Hague possesses a small oil painting, *The Building of the Tower of Babel* (Fig. 1), which corresponds as completely as possible to his style. The dark coloring and mode of painting, the pronounced genre-like character, the oriental types, which we have met before in the drawing of numerous heads in the Berlin Print Room, these and many other individual features point clearly to the master. The small size of the picture itself (20 x 18 cm) with its miniature-like figures, indicates that it was created by a miniaturist rather than by a panel painter, and the iconographic tradition of the subject also speaks in favor of this interpretation. As far as we know *The Tower of Babel* does not occur before this time in any panel painting, although from the twelfth century onward it was often used as a subject of the *Bible historiée*, the *Bible moralisée*, the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, and so on.

Years ago Gustav Glück¹² remarked that of the original predecessors of the old Pieter Bruegel, the miniaturists and in particular those of the Ghent-Bruges school, had developed the popular and narrative features in religious subjects more independently than the painters in oil, and were first to unite all those motives of landscape, genre, historical or biblical story which later formed the art of Bruegel. This small picture of the *Tower of Babel* contains, in fact, all the elements *in nuce* which we admire in a greater conception and in a wider, more organized plan and composition in the two paintings by Bruegel of the same subject in the Museum at Vienna and in the Van Beuningen collection at Rotterdam. That the more extensive representation of this subject in the Grimani Breviary depended more or less directly on the picture by Sanders Bening, may be presumed all the more readily if we go on to consider Horenbout's general dependence on Bening.

When Sanders Bening died at Bruges in the year 1519, after half a century of artistic activity, his two worthy followers, his son Simon Bening and Gerard Horenbout, had probably finished their masterpiece, the Grimani Codex, wherein the Flemish book illumination reached its final high point at the end of the Gothic period. Horenbout had been accepted as a Freemaster of the painters guild at Ghent in the year 1487. His early works thus originated at the same time as the works of the second phase of Sanders Bening: the "older" *Prayer Book* and *The Poems of Nagonius* for Maximilian. In 1515

Horenbout had acquired such recognition that he was appointed to the position of official court painter to Margaret of Austria. In this position he completed for her the *Libro d'ore*, already mentioned, which she had inherited in 1503 from Bona Sforza, Duchess of Milan. As the book had been damaged, in 1517 a scribe, Etienne de Lale, was engaged to restore it with new written pages,¹³ and it was probably on these folios that Horenbout painted his illuminations. But as the form was given by the former miniatures, he was forced to adapt his manner and composition to the work of the older Milanese master who had executed the bulk of the book. His sixteen full-page pictures are therefore not so typical for they lack the freedom of movement and expression of his other illuminations, in particular of the Grimani Codex. In 1520 Albrecht Dürer visited Horenbout and bought from his eighteen year old daughter Susanne, also a miniature painter, a *Salvator Mundi*. In 1521, or shortly afterwards, Horenbout went to England and entered into the service of King Henry VIII. His son Lucas also became famous in England for his portrait miniatures and received a salary as court painter higher than that of Holbein.

The two manuscripts created at the height of Horenbout's career, between 1510 and 1520, with the collaboration of other artists probably of his workshop, and the richest in the various expressions of his art, are the Grimani Breviary and the Mayer van den Bergh Breviary.¹⁴ Then there is the group of manuscripts which Winkler in his *Flemish Book Painting* ascribes to the so-called Master of Jacob IV and the Master of the Croy Prayer Book. Both these artists he now regards as being one and the same person, namely Horenbout. The *Prayer Book of King Jacob IV of Scotland*, with its two representative title pictures of the King and Queen with their Saints, dates from about 1500, and it was probably due to the fame of Hugo van der Goes, who had painted the Holyrood triptych for Jacob III, father of Jacob IV, that the prayer book was ordered of an artist from Ghent. The richly illustrated *Breviary of Isabelle the Catholic*, in the British Museum (Ms. Add. 18851) was finished shortly before 1497. In this, according to Winkler, three pictures were executed by Horenbout, four by Gerard David and the rest by other artists. In this year it was presented to the Spanish Queen by Francisco de Rojas on the occasion of the wedding of the Infant Don Juan with Margaret of Austria. We know this Francisco de Rojas from his portrait in an altarwing by Memling, where he is represented as donor.¹⁵

The best indication concerning the origin of Horenbout's art may perhaps

be found in the *Prayer Book of Eleonor of Portugal*, the wife of Emperor Frederick III, at the Morgan Library, New York (Ms. 52) (Fig. 16). If this manuscript in its essential miniatures was done by Horenbout and not by Sanders Bening, or by both artists in common, it appears evident that Horenbout must have studied in the workshop of Bening. This would also explain why so many compositions of this prayer book repeat themselves in his later illuminations, up to the Grimani Codex.

It was one of the fundamental discoveries by Hulin and Winkler that the principal part of the illumination of the Grimani Codex was done by Horenbout; that it was he who painted not only the famous calendar pictures, but also the most important and original full-page illuminations such as *Adam and Eve*, the *Tower of Babel*, the *Brazen Serpent*, *Samson with the Gates of Gaza*, the *Birth of Christ*, and the *Crucifixion*, the *Resurrection*, the *Mass for the Dead*, the *Last Judgment*, and different scenes of the lives of the Apostles and Saints. After the "older" *Prayer Book of Emperor Maximilian* and the *Hortulus* at Vienna were eliminated, the confusing elements disappeared and from the above mentioned illuminations we can now gain a real appreciation of Horenbout's art. The *Hortulus Animal* (Vienna, Cod. 2706) especially, with its many imitations of the Grimani Codex, had long confused the question of authorship. Hulin first connected it with the name of Horenbout, and Winkler grouped around his Master of the *Hortulus* most of the works which are now considered as being by Horenbout. Both scholars revised their opinion and Winkler now assigns the *Hortulus*, as an early work, to Simon Bening.

The influence of Hugo van der Goes did not end with Sanders Bening but continued in the works of Horenbout. The *Fall of Man* in the Grimani Codex is in its whole expression unthinkable without the preceding version of this motive by Goes. Horenbout, like Simon Bening, on several occasions repeats the representation of Saint Catherine by Goes, known in a drawing of the former collection of Dr. Rosenthal.¹⁶

On the other hand there occur in the Grimani Codex and the Mayer van den Berg Breviary a number of miniatures with a striking resemblance to Gerard David: in the Mayer van den Bergh Breviary the *Visitation*, the *Annunciation*, the *Holy Trinity*, *David and Goliath*, the *Miracle of St. Anthony with the Donkey*; in the Grimani Codex, the *Holy Trinity*, *Magdalena in Penitence*, the *Madonna with Female Saints*, *St. Francis*, *Popes*, *Virgins and Saints*. These miniatures, if they were really done by Horenbout, lead to the supposition that he, like the two Benings, must have worked for a time at

Bruges (though his name is not recorded in the list of the painters' guild) or that at least he may have been slightly influenced by David. He even copied a painting by this master, a predella picture with the *Miracle of Saint Anthony with the Donkey* (Loyd Collection, formerly Lady Wantage, Locking House)¹⁷ in two of his own illuminations, the *Prayer Book of Eleonor of Portugal* and another one at Cassel. The same composition in the Grimani Codex is not by Horenbout, I believe, but by Simon Bening.

Gerard Horenbout did not confine himself to book illumination, he also painted panel pictures. Van Mander knew of such panels in their original place: an altarpiece for the Abbott Livien Hughenois (d. 1517) with the *Flagellation* and the *Entombment of Christ*, in the church of St. Bavo at Ghent, and a tondo for the linen merchants with the *Christ of Sorrows* on one side, the *Madonna with the Child and Angels* on the other. Van Mander's short description of the *Entombment* in St. Bavo, where the three Marys enter the tomb in the rock with lanterns in their hands, is reminiscent, as Hulin remarked, of the night scenes and their artificial lighting in some of the miniatures in the Grimani Codex: the *Birth of Christ*, the *Crucifixion* and the *Death of the Madonna*. That Sanders Bening had already made use of this technique can be seen from a miniature representing the *Mount of Olives* below the *Crucifixion* (Berlin Print Room, 78 13 13) (Fig. 12).

From the accounts of the ducal treasury of Margaret of Austria it appears that Horenbout had been both panel and miniature painter. The account of his work in the *Libro d'ore* runs as follows: "Il est due a maître Gerard Harenbourg (Horenbout) peintre et illumineur résidant a Gand pour les parties de son metier que par ordonnance de Madame il a faictes et livrés ainsi que cy-après est déclaré . . ."¹⁸ It was Hulin de Loo again, who attempted, successfully, to discover panel paintings by the master. He recognized his hand in two altarwings with their donors at the Vieweg sale in Berlin in 1930, and acquired them for the Ghent Museum (Figs. 8 and 9), the donors having been identified as Livien van Pottelsberghe, general tax collector of Ghent, and his wife. Apart from the fact that their Ghent origin is thus clearly proven, they are convincingly similar in style and expression to Horenbout's miniatures. Another altarpiece, a triptych with Saint Anne already belonged to the Museum of Ghent and is signed with the name "Gerardus," the given name of Horenbout.

We found a third panel painting by the master in quite a different way. The *Saint Christopher* (Fig. 10) in the Grimani Codex, which was reproduced



Fig. 6. FLEMISH, 15TH CENTURY
Descent of the Holy Ghost
Rotterdam, Boymans Museum



Fig. 7. Descent of the Holy Ghost
From the Grimani Breviary



*Figs. 8 and 9. GERARD HORENBOUT
Wings of an Altar with Portraits of the Donors
Ghent Museum*

by Horenbout himself in a prayer book conserved at Cassel, is also to be seen in a picture of smaller dimensions (43 x 33 cm.) which was sold in 1931 with the collection of Dr. Wendland at Cassirer's in Berlin and later came to the Twente Museum in Enschede (Holland) (Fig. 11). First it may be observed that the iconography of the picture does not follow the Flemish tradition of the motive as we know it from Paul de Limbourg to Quentin Massys: the Saint does not carry the Child on his shoulders as usual but holds Him in his arm to lift Him from the rock on which He stands. This new invention seems to be Horenbout's, although it does not necessarily follow, either from this fact or from the similarity between miniatures and picture, that they were executed by the same hand. The miniature *Joseph Sold by his Brothers* in the Mayer van den Bergh Breviary, for instance, reappears in exactly the same composition but in different style in one of the roundels of the *Story of Joseph* at the Berlin Museum.¹⁹ Both were probably based on a lost composition by Hugo van der Goes. The *Christopher* picture in the Twente Museum, on the other hand, agrees completely in its formal characteristics with the *Christopher* miniatures and furthermore corresponds absolutely with Horenbout's other panel pictures. The Master of Frankfurt, to whom it has been assigned by Friedländer and Hoogewerff,²⁰ treats the subject entirely differently in his two pictures at the Walraff-Richartz Museum in Cologne and in a private collection.²¹

Hitherto no drawings by Horenbout have been known. But in the Koenigs Collection, now at the Boymans Museum at Rotterdam, I saw a drawing in black chalk which I should like to submit for discussion as it reminds me very distinctly of his style (Fig. 13). This drawing represents the *Justice of the Emperor Titus*, a subject which Rembrandt treated in one of his earliest paintings. After Rogier van der Weyden had painted his famous pictures at Brussels, it became customary to select Scenes of Justice taken from ancient history to be used in Flemish court rooms and city halls, principally as decorations but also to set a "moral example." Perhaps this sketch was intended for the same purpose. The two kneeling figures in the foreground show a rhythm of movement almost typical of Horenbout's compositions. Among other examples they may be found in the Grimani Codex miniature: *David Anointed by King Saul*. In its general resemblance to the technique of Goes, the drawing leaves no doubt that it must have originated at Ghent. Relatively few pure chalk drawings have been handed down to us from the fifteenth century. Among these there is one of Saint Joris, the patron of Ghent, at the

British Museum, signed with the name of a hitherto unknown painter: Jasper van Gent.

While the art and manner of Horenbout are well-known today, there still remains the task of establishing a clear distinction between his works and those which Simon Bening executed in the Grimani Breviary. If Wrinkler is right in attributing the *Hortulus* of Vienna to Simon Bening, as I believe he is, then the influence of Horenbout on Simon, who was about twenty years younger, must have been very pronounced and determined their collaboration. As far as I perceived some years ago, in the Grimani Codex in addition to *Saint Catherine with the Doctors*—applying therein architectural forms by Gossaert, where he inscribed his name—Simon Bening painted *The Descent of the Holy Ghost* and *The Annunciation* after his father's pattern; *The Holy Trinity*, *The Miracle of St. Anthony with the Donkey* (after Gerard David); and *Saint Barbara* after Goes. All these pictures differ quite distinctly from Horenbout's manner and technique in that they are painted more smoothly, are more elaborate, with more color contrast and are modeled with a certain plastic firmness unknown to Horenbout.

The two masters may best be recognized by comparing the calendar pictures of the Grimani Codex by Horenbout with those done by Bening in the Prayer book now at Munich (the so-called *Munich Calendar*, Cod. 23638 of the National Library), the *Heures de Hennessy* (Brussels, Bibl. Royal, Ms. II, 58)²² and the *Golfbook* in the British Museum (Add. Ms. 24098). In all these later works Simon Bening made use of Horenbout's Calendar pictures, taking sometimes over entire scenes, sometimes only single figures as in the *Hay Harvest*, the *Wheat Harvest* and the *Sheep Sheering* of the Calendar at Munich. But his manner of painting has become more detailed, more picturesque, his figures are shorter, the Renaissance character is more marked.

The calendar pictures of the Grimani Codex with their popular scenes of rural life, their new inspiration taken from nature, were not only imitated in later miniature painting but also influenced panel painting. I once saw a significant example of this in a Flemish landscape of about 1530 in the Gallery of Dr. Benedict. Although quite extraordinary in its quality and strong dramatic expression, and clearly related to the art of Herri met de Bles and to the earliest works of Pieter Bruegel, the picture could not be assigned definitely to any of the known masters. In the foreground of the landscape, however, there recur the figures of three different pages of the Grimani Codex: the whole group of the *Hay Harvest*, the *Sleeping Peasant* from the frame picture



*Fig. 10. St. Christopher
From the Grimani Codex*



*Fig. 11. St. Christopher
Twente, Museum*

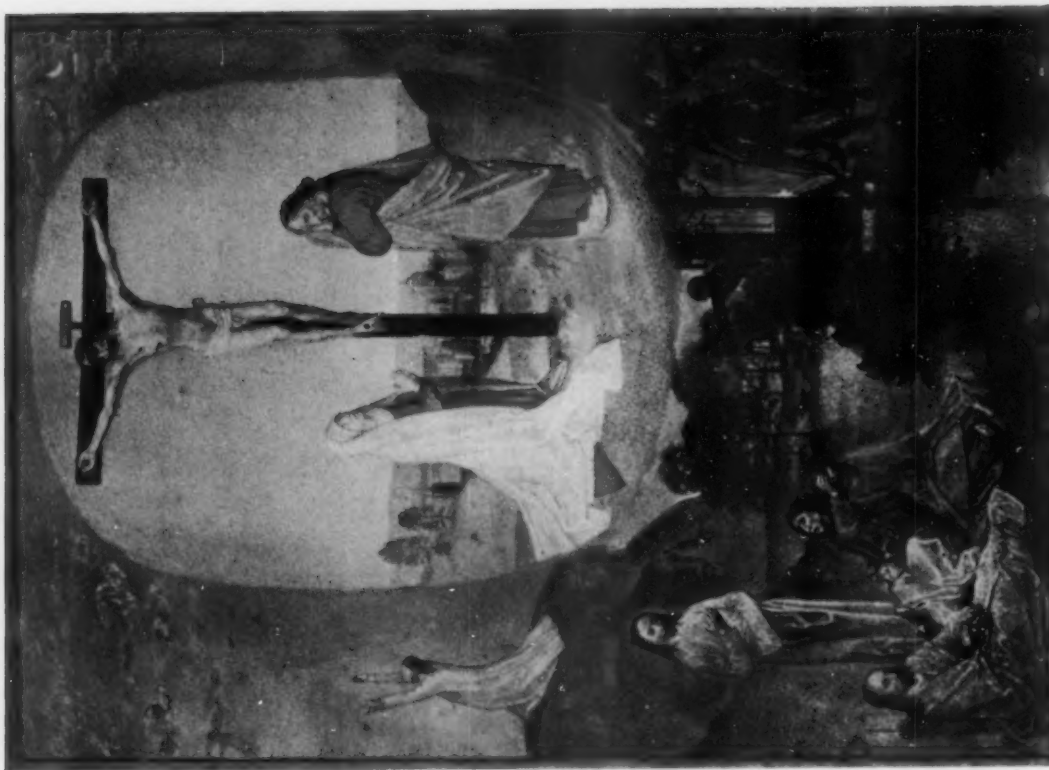


Fig. 12. SANDERS BENING, *Crucifixion with the Mount of Olives*
Berlin Print Room

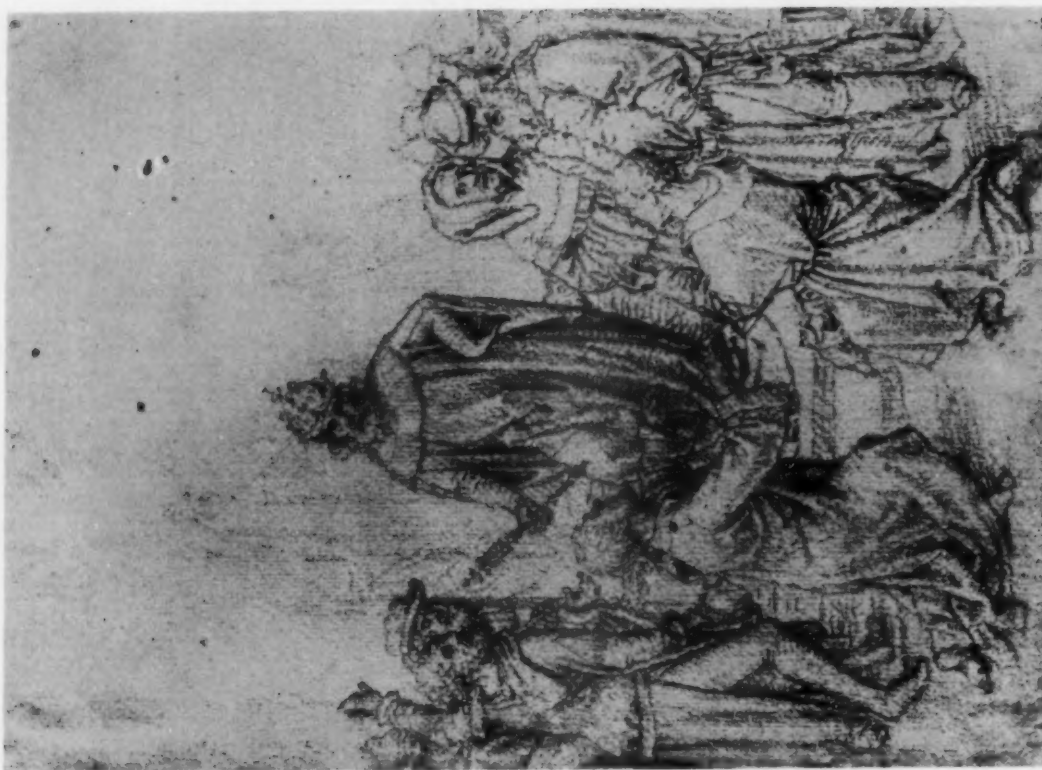


Fig. 13. *The Justice of the Emperor Titus*
Rotterdam, Boymans Museum

of the month of August, and the *Milking Peasant Woman* with her goat, from the frame of September. As the Grimani Codex must have been for many years in Italy, when this picture was done, and as its figures were apparently not copied from Bening's imitations but from models of Horenbout, the relation is difficult to explain. Nevertheless, the transition from miniature to oil painting, or, on a wider scale, from the calendar pictures of the illuminated books to the paintings of the seasons by Pieter Bruegel, remains interesting in itself.

We do not know exactly in what decade it occurred or what circumstances gave the Flemish miniaturists the idea of painting miniatures as independent little pictures, separate from the written book-pages. As early as the fifteenth century there existed small portable altarpieces, used on voyages by personages of high rank, which were decorated with such miniatures. Also Gerard David seems to have painted small pictures of the kind. Jules Destrée²³ discovered the first small altarpiece done in miniature technique on parchment, by Simon Bening, at the Prado Museum in Madrid. The *Salvator Mundi* which Dürer bought from Susanne Horenbout was certainly a single miniature. When the woodcut began to replace the miniature in illustrated books and thus reduced the activity of the illuminators, in their search for new possibilities they came almost logically to the form of single miniatures. The portrait miniature offered a new and especially worthwhile field of endeavor. Van Mander has related the success which Lucas Horenbout, the son, had had with his portrait miniatures in England; and after him Simon Bening's daughter, Lavinia Teerling. Simon Bening himself excelled as a portraitist in this technique as early as the 20's of the sixteenth century.

Before the beginning of this century the portraits in Flemish book illumination were generally of a still more or less schematic type, compared with the astonishing progress in individual, realistic portraiture realized by painters like Goes, Memling, and David. Even in the illuminated portraits by Sanders Bening and Gerard Horenbout we miss the more personal traits and characteristics, while magnificent examples of individual portrait miniatures were being produced in Italy and France at the same period. Bourdichon, the Master of Charles VIII, and the painter of the *Neuf preux de Marignan* in the *Commentaires des guerres galliques* of Francis I, had created prototypes for the younger Flemish miniature painters.

The collection of miniatures of Dr. H. Forrer at Zürich contains a small portrait of a monk sitting in a room and holding his prayer book from which

he is just looking up; while in the background another monk enters and a window opens on a landscape (Fig. 14). Because of the close resemblance of this very individual portrait to those of Gerard David and Adriaen Isenbrandt we can take it for granted that it must have been executed at Bruges and, according to its technique, style and quality, certainly by no other than Simon Bening. The escutcheon in the window seems to be that of the family Van der Maelen. The reverse side is blank and the whole character of the miniature is not that of a cut out book illumination.

A similar independent miniature portrait by Bening is preserved in the Louvre, where it entered with parts of the Sauvageot Collection as a "Cranach" (Fig. 15). The fact that it was never exhibited but stored in an almost hidden place, not among the drawings but among the furniture, may be the main reason why it escaped the notice of such prominent connoisseurs as the Comte Durrieu, Hulin de Loo and Winkler. For here we even have the proof of Bening's authorship. The represented person can be no other than the artist himself, as we can see if we compare him with later self-portraits in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and in the Lehman Collection, New York.²⁴ In these portraits, fully authenticated by inscriptions, Bening represented himself in the year 1558 at the very old age of seventy-four, three years prior to his death. His face is marked by advanced years, by a great seriousness and pride, a certain contempt for the world, and even a certain bitterness, as expressed by the corners of his drawn-down mouth. All these features, with the same expression, are found, though less pronounced, in the Louvre portrait, in which he represented himself thirty or more years before, in front of one of those bright Flemish canal landscapes he liked to represent in his calendar miniatures.

The Catalogue of the Sauvageot Collection indicates that this portrait miniature bears the date of 1525 on the left side of the picture. I could not find it; perhaps it was hidden under the frame. Nevertheless, if we take the approximate age of the painter, born in 1483 or 1484, as being about forty years old at that time, we arrive at about the same date. There is one further point to verify the date: in the *Miracle of St. Anthony with the Donkey* in the Grimani Breviary (Fig. 17), the head of the person next to the right edge shows such striking similarity to the Louvre portrait that we may assume Bening has also represented himself in this miniature, which consequently must be his work. He appears younger here, although not actually youthful. As the Grimani Codex was finished and acquired by the Cardinal shortly

before his death in 1520, the painter was then at the end of his thirties. When he executed in 1530 his most impressive and most personal work, the splendid illuminations in the *Genealogy of the House of Portugal*, in the British Museum (Add. Ms. 12531), he was almost the last in that long succession of Flemish illuminators who had contributed so much to the high standard of artistic culture ever since the time of the brothers of Limbourg and Jan van Eyck.

- ¹ *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe Beaux Arts*, 1924, p. 6; *ibid.*, 1931, p. 40; *ibid.*, 1939, p. 158.
- ² "Neuentdeckte Niederländer I: Sanders Bening," *Pantheon*, 1942, S. 261.
- ³ G. Hulin de Loo, "Comment j'ai retrouvé Horenbout," *Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, 1939.
- ⁴ F. Winkler, "Neuentdeckte Niederländer II: Gerard Horenbout," *Pantheon*, 1943, p. 55.
- ⁵ See notes quoted above.
- ⁶ O. Pächt, "The Master of Mary of Burgundy," *Burlington Magazine*, LXXXV (1944), p. 295.
- ⁷ See note 2, p. 269.
- ⁸ *Drawings by a Flemish Miniaturist*, p. 134.
- ⁹ See note 6.
- ¹⁰ See note 6.
- ¹¹ See note 8.
- ¹² "Bruegel und der Ursprung seiner Kunst," *Aus drei Jahrhunderten europäischer Malerei*, II, p. 151.
- ¹³ See *British Museum Quarterly*, X (1936), 161.
- ¹⁴ Both manuscripts are published in full by Scato de Vries e S. Morpurgo (text by Coggiola) *Il Breviario Grimani*; and C. Gaspard, *The Breviary of Mayer van den Bergh*, Brussels, 1932.
- ¹⁵ See Memling Exhibition at Bruges, 1939, no. 38; and Friedländer, *Altniederländische Malerei*, XIV, 103.
- ¹⁶ M. J. Friedländer, "Eine Zeichnung des Hugo van der Goes," *Pantheon*, XV (1935), 99-104.
- ¹⁷ Reproduced a.o. in the *Illustrated Souvenir* of the Flemish Exhibition at Burlington House, London, 1927, no. 100.
- ¹⁸ See note 3.
- ¹⁹ See A. E. Popham, "Notes on Flemish Domestic Glass," *Apollo*, VII (1928), 175.
- ²⁰ Friedländer, *Altniederländische Malerei*, VII, 145, pl. 92; and Hoogewerff, *Noordnederlandsche Schilderkunst*, III, 25.
- ²¹ Reproduced by Winkler, *Die niederländische Malerei*, p. 208.
- ²² See G. Leidinger, *Miniaturen aus Handschriften der kgl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek*, München, Heft 2; and Jules Destrée, *Les Heures de Hennessy*, Brussels, 1895.
- ²³ J. Destrée, *Hugo van der Goes*.
- ²⁴ Reproduced by E. Aeschlimann, *Dictionnaire des Miniaturistes*, pl. x; and J. H. Weale, *Burlington Magazine*, VIII (1905-6), 357.



Fig. 14. SIMON BENING, *Portrait of a Monk*
Zürich, Dr. H. Forrer Coll.



Fig. 15. SIMON BENING, *Self-Portrait*
Paris, Louvre



Fig. 16. *St. Anthony of Padua*
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
Breviary of Eleonor of Portugal



Fig. 17. SIMON BENING
The Miracle of St. Anthony with the Donkey
From the Grimani Breviary



Fig. 1. THOMAS EAKINS, *Lady with a Setter Dog*
(Original version, painted in 1885, reproduced in Lippincott's
Book of American Figure Painters, 1886)



Fig. 2. THOMAS EAKINS
Lady with a Setter Dog (final state, middle 1890's)
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

THE ART OF EAKINS, HOMER, AND RYDER: A SOCIAL REVALUATION

By WALLACE S. BALDINGER

CONTRARY to many current claims, the advent of the atomic bomb has not ushered in that era in man's history which has been termed "the atomic age." It has merely punctuated such an era, a period of development gaining steadily in momentum since in 1905 Einstein formulated his principle of the identity of mass and energy (or space and time), and since in 1907 Picasso undertook unwittingly with his *Demoiselles d'Avignon* and succeeding canvases to create the visual equivalent to Einstein's principle.¹

As the parallel of Picasso to Einstein suggests, moreover, the artist is as ready as the theoretical scientist to respond to the unfilled wants felt by his society, ready to respond with images or concepts evoked from the experience which he shares with it but denied or postponed of realization by the immediate, work-a-day world. That European painters play such a role has long been recognized, but the fact that American painters fulfill the same function has generally been ignored. It is nonetheless true that the latter have sought constantly to give substance to current ideals and emotional states of mind.

The extent to which contemporary artists in the United States are thus meeting contemporary needs may not be as clear to us as it will be to our descendants. From our present vantage point, however, we can detect with a vividness denied to our predecessors the way in which the art of three of the most celebrated painters in America's recent past—Thomas Eakins, Winslow Homer, and Albert Pinkham Ryder—came to assume critical importance as the expression of America's readjustment to a Great Transition, importance as the psychological bridge from an age of Renaissance materialism to the new age of "cosmic abstraction" today nearly half a century old.

If their biographers were right to insist upon the independence of these three artists from contemporary changes in style,² then their true significance as representatives of American life in transformation could not be maintained. The fact is that Eakins, Homer, and Ryder did change, and change conspicuously, through the course of their careers, proceeding step by step from that last great culmination of objective realism in America in the middle

eighteen-eighties to the very threshold of expressionism when about 1910 age and failing health put an end to their painting.

On the other hand, unless individual differences in expression are first recognized, one cannot be sure to what extent the artists in question were related either in changes of style, or, more significantly, in ability to give visual form to the spirit of a changing America. Before attempting, therefore, to identify features common to their painting as it responded to changing states of mind, one must recognize features constantly distinguishing the art of one from that of the others. All three of the painters have, in fact, been described as realists, Eakins and Homer as "realists of the external world,"³ Ryder as "a realist of the mind;"⁴ and certainly, if one examines the paintings of each artist here reproduced, one notes a common vividness in visualization. Beyond such a feature, however, indispensable as it is to all great pictorial creation, the art of each man is strikingly his own.

Thomas Eakins perceived material objects much as does a modeler in clay, cylindrical, swelling outward as masses about a solid central core, but Winslow Homer saw them more as a carver in stone, blocklike, pressing inward in broadly simplified planes. Albert Pinkham Ryder regarded them still otherwise, as patches of light or dark, withdrawn from the eye, moving fitfully in boundless space.

It is perhaps these differences in basic point of view that account for other differences. Eakins' goal of plastic bulk may explain, for example, his particular type of figure-construction, with bold axial thrusts disposed as though they were determined by the action of an underlying armature, or modulations of surface elaborated as though they were invited by clay felt beneath the fingers. Homer's goal of glyptic bulk, goal natural to the man who once made his living as designer for woodcut illustrations, may have induced his characteristic breadth of treatment, with highly simplified and sharply demarcated planes, harshly contrasting colors, and firmly planted foreground forms. Ryder's goal of dematerialized fantasy may have motivated his natural feeling for the magic of pigment, for the rich textural eloquence of impasto, for the chromatic splendor of fusions, glazings, and thickly overlaid scumblings, that veil his forms in an atmosphere of mystery.

So distinctly different from each other were Eakins, Homer, and Ryder that one wonders how, whatever its force, the impact of any period of cultural development in America could shape their respective styles of painting into any parallel conformance in expression. All the more significant is it,



*Fig. 3. ALBERT PINKHAM RYDER, *Jonah* (engraving after original painting, made by Elbridge Kingsley for *Century Magazine*, Philadelphia, June, 1890, p. 256)
Formerly New York, R. H. Halsted Coll.*



*Fig. 4. ALBERT PINKHAM RYDER, *Jonah* (final state, middle 1890's)
Washington, D. C., National Collection of Fine Arts
(Gellatly Coll.)*



Fig. 5. WINSLOW HOMER, Lost on the Grand Banks (original version, painted in 1885-86, reproduced in Lippincott's Book of American Figure Painters, Philadelphia, 1886)



*Fig. 6. WINSLOW HOMER, Lost on the Grand Banks (final state, about 1893-1900)
Washington, D. C., National Gallery of Art (on loan from the
John S. Broome Coll., Oxnard, Cal.)*

therefore, that spiritual forces at work in American society did so shape each man's art, not once but repeatedly through the simultaneous span of the maturity of the three. For purposes of demonstration we choose only four such moments, times when the works of all seemed to voice in unison wishes currently uppermost in the popular mind: the middle eighteen-eighties; the middle eighteen-nineties; the years immediately following the Spanish-American War; and the close of the first decade of the present century, when at about the same moment all three painters happened to put final touches to their last respective works.

Personal experiences have been advanced as the major explanation for a maturing process equally evident about the middle eighties in the art of Eakins,⁵ of Homer,⁶ and of Ryder,⁷ and certainly there can be no doubt that the paintings of the time produced by the three men show a marked increase in compositional concentration and power. The influence of such experiences as Eakins' marriage, Homer's retirement to Prout's Neck, or Ryder's return from a trip to Europe, must have been important to the art of each, for one knows from one's own life how stimulating a change in scene or in manner of life can become.

By 1885, however, more significant forces than fleeting incidents were at work around the painters, social forces sensed by them and recorded in their works. Six years before, a financial panic beginning in 1873 had finally spent itself, and the interim had witnessed an unprecedented acceleration of industrial activity. Centering in railroad construction, until now all of the great transcontinental lines were at last completed, this activity affected profoundly the outlook of people in both the city and the countryside. Once the railroads were in full operation, universal prosperity seemed assured. Optimism filled the air. No soil so arid that man could not wrest a living from it, no cross-roads so remote that man could not make it the site of a flourishing metropolis, no market so limited that man could not speculate on quick profits to be won from it.⁸ The time-spirit so developed was bound to manifest itself in diverse ways, but one of the clearest of such manifestations was the contemporary novel, especially for our purposes some novel written by a man of exactly the same age and same importance as those of the painters being studied.⁹ William Dean Howells was such a contemporary, and in the first of his masterpieces of fiction, *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (1884), we find the exact embodiment of the contemporary hero, the self-made "go-getter," who states in one characteristic utterance:

That's what grinds me. . . . Why should we wait for them to make the advances? Why shouldn't we make 'em? Are they any better than we are? My note of hand would be worth ten times what Bromfield Corey's is on the street today. And I made *my* money. I haven't loafed my life away.¹⁰

That the material world seemed good because it held no terrors for man but offered itself to be shaped to his heart's desire is an attitude strikingly reflected in Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, a novel of the same year written by a similarly important contemporary. The lusty current delight in self-reliance is nowhere more aptly voiced than in that famous passage in which "Huck" describes a thunderstorm:

It would get so dark that it looked all blue-black outside, and lovely; and the rain would thrash along by so thick that the trees off a little ways looked dim and spider-webby; and here would come a blast of wind that would bend the trees down and turn up the pale underside of the leaves; and then a perfect ripper of a gust would follow along and set the branches tossing their arms as if they was just wild; and next, when it was just about the bluest and blackest—*fst!* it was as bright as glory, and you'd have a little glimpse of tree-tops a-plunging about away off yonder in the storm, hundreds of yards further than you could see before; dark as sin again in a second, and now you'd hear the thunder let go with an awful crash, and then go rumbling, grumbling, tumbling, down the sky towards the under side of the world, like rolling empty barrels downstairs—where it's long stairs and they bounce a good deal, you know.

"Jim, this is nice," I says. "I wouldn't want to be nowhere else but here. Pass me along another hunk of fish and some hot cornbread."¹¹

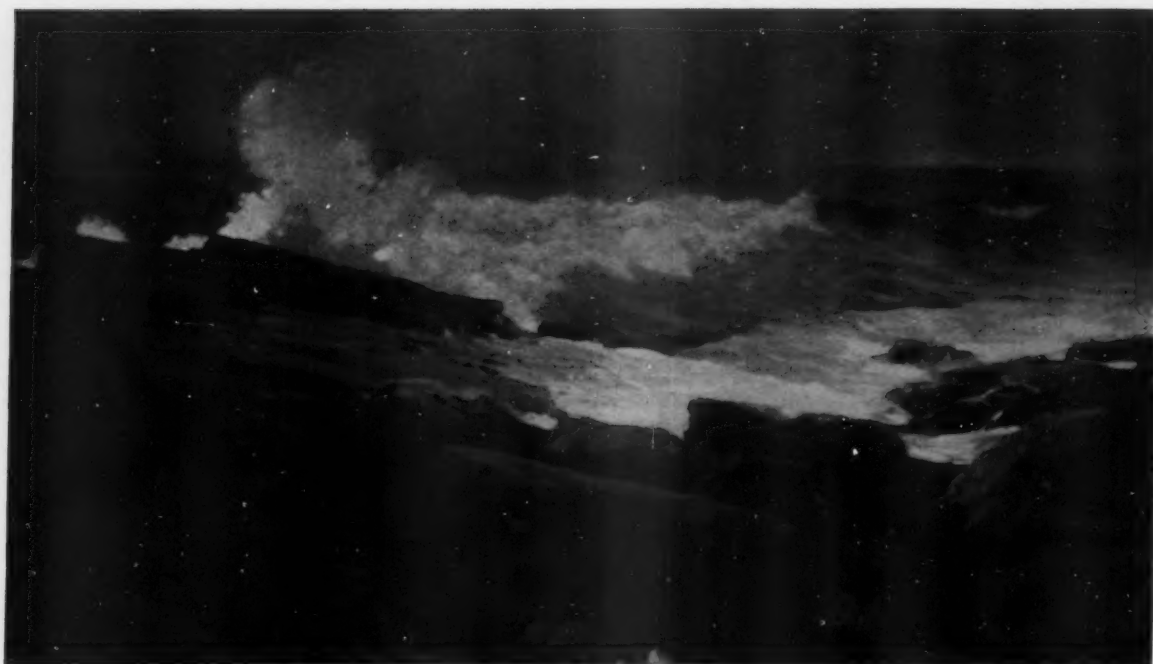
The ideas thus presented verbally take on correspondingly vivid form in the paintings of the novelists' contemporaries. The same absorption with struggle-molded personality, for example, and the same delight in straight factual description are evident in three paintings of 1885: Eakins' portrait of his wife as it was first completed, *Lady With a Setter Dog* (Fig. 1);¹² a marine by Homer in its original version, *Lost on the Grand Banks* (Fig. 5);¹³ and a fantasy by Ryder in its contemporary state, *Jonah* (Fig. 3).¹⁴ Eakins portrayed his bride with a clarity of vision exceptional on such an occasion, glorying in her plastic physical presence, in her erect, assured poise in her chair, in her slight but solid figure realized beneath her gown, in the way in which she dominated her Mid-Victorian surroundings. With a gusto equal to Mark Twain's, Homer not only suggested a story with his picture but also rendered with greater conviction the feel of the material forms with which he told it, from the rocking dory and its anxious occupants to the white-capped waves and the encompassing blanket of fog. The Bible story Ryder treated



Fig. 7. THOMAS EAKINS, *Mrs. Thomas Eakins* (about 1899)
Private Collection



Fig. 8. THOMAS EAKINS, *Mrs. Frank Hamilton Cushing* (1894 or 1895)
The Philadelphia Museum of Art



*Fig. 9. WINSLOW HOMER, *Weather Beaten* (1894)
Private Collection*



*Fig. 10. WINSLOW HOMER, *On a Lee Shore* (1900)
Providence, Rhode Island School of Design*

with a like romantic appeal, but no less than his two contemporaries he went beyond the story; though recorded only in an engraving and subject thus to discount, the *Jonah* is colored strongly by the current state of mind, by a confidence in human power as solid as the masses represented, as solid as the waves, the lumbering whale, or the heads of the horrified crew, by a confidence in a happy ending betrayed by the still unmasted vessel and the partially submerged but calmly swimming Jonah.

When maximum realization of solids becomes the painter's aim, moreover, he is certain to seek it on his canvas by such devices as centralization and pyramidal grouping, or subordination of brushwork to the planes enclosing masses, or presentation of planes in their broadest aspects, parallel to the picture plane. These are the very qualities of composition which characterize the three paintings singled out to represent a manner of expression peculiar to the middle eighteen-eighties (Figs. 1, 3, and 5). It is not chance that made the paintings kin, nor accident that they should share much in common with contemporary novels. Painter and novelist were alike eloquent of their time.

When judged by the standard of coherence, however, the extent to which the component visual elements of a picture appear consistent with its intention, two of the compositions (Figs. 1 and 5) prove surprisingly superior to the third (Fig. 3). The Eakins and the Homer attest to a happy conjunction of personal style with the mode of material realism just described. Not a touch in either work fails to enhance the organic vitality of the whole. With Ryder's *Jonah*, on the other hand, one senses on the part of the painter an unresolved conflict of tendencies, and a consequent weakening in force of expression. The subject as conceived by Ryder seemed to call for a nightmare of horror, but the restraining hand of realism so modified his execution in favor of the matter-of-fact that the few stray shreds of foam and the popping eyes of the figures become merely melodramatic incidents.

Ryder himself must have felt the deficiencies of his picture, for he seems to have recovered it from its original owner and to have worked it over during the middle eighteen-nineties, leaving it finally towards the turn of the century in its present state (Fig. 4). The outcome of his efforts was a distinct improvement. In the final version of the painting, the storm has mounted to an irresistible height; it has whipped the waves into ribbons of froth and dark water; it has swept away all traces of the mast and rigging, and has veiled with spray the artificially grimacing faces. Jonah is now presented as a terror-stricken speck of humanity, a helpless pawn of Nature.

A change for the better in a single painting can be explained by the progressive maturing of the painter's genius, from his middle thirties, when he apparently set to work upon it, until about the age of fifty, when he left it as we see it today. More significant explanation lies, on the other hand, in a background of contemporary social need so poignant as to affect even the art of a romantic recluse like Albert Pinkham Ryder.

The height of optimism which we noted American society as reaching about 1885 proved to be shortlived. It receded with the ebb in prosperity that began within the year and lasted more than a decade. It vanished with a frontier that could no longer provide escape for the discontented, dissolved in disillusionment over railroads that imposed ruinous rates of freight and over lands that drought rendered fruitless. It disappeared in hatreds engendered by moneylending that could not be redeemed, by a downward spiral of deflation that bankers in Washington were blamed for occasioning, by squabbles over hours and wages that gave rise to strikes, lockouts, and violence, by disturbing new inventions like street cars, giving rise to mass commuting, or like telephones, disassociating the voice from the person.¹⁵

To an American society of the middle nineties, turned back upon itself by unexpected limits to nature's bounty and frustrated unaccountably by processes of its own devising, the restrictions of a tangible, man-made world no longer proved a challenge; instead, they became intolerable bonds from which to escape into worlds of fancy. Inevitable was it, therefore, that American thought should undergo such significant shifts in emphasis as those manifested in literature, changes from the established anthropocentric realism which we have just observed, to a new pessimistic naturalism that impelled novelists often to resort to the fashioning of Utopias.¹⁶ In twelve short years, from 1886 to 1898, no less than forty-three utopian romances were published, to constitute a production unprecedented in American history, and one fraught with significance for parallel trends in painting.¹⁷ William Dean Howells struck the keynote to the current spirit when in his contribution to the series, *A Traveler from Altruria*, published in 1894, he wrote:

I glanced at the Altrurian, sitting attentive and silent, and a sudden misgiving crossed my mind concerning him. Was he really a man, a human entity, a personality like ourselves, or was he merely a sort of spiritual solvent, sent for the moment to precipitate whatever sincerity there was in us, and show us what the truth was concerning our relations to each other?¹⁸

Mark Twain's Utopia took the form of a biography in which he deified

the heroine, Joan of Arc, and repeatedly bore witness to the prevailing naturalism of temper in such passages as the following:

And when they had said their say, La Hire took a chance again, and said:

"There are some that never know how to change. Circumstances change, but those people are never able to see that *they* have got to change too, to meet those circumstances. All that they know is the one beaten track that their fathers and grandfathers have followed and that they themselves have followed in their turn. If an earthquake come and rip the land to chaos, and that beaten path now lead over precipices and into morasses, those people can't learn that they must strike out a new road—no; they will march stupidly along and follow the old one to death and perdition."¹⁹

Ryder's final version of the *Jonah* is seen thus to be the pictorial counterpart to the contemporary novelist's determinism; but even a confirmed realist like Winslow Homer could profit by the new state of mind. Standing for a whole series of representative current paintings, Homer's *Weather Beaten* (or *Storm Beaten*) of 1894 (Fig. 9), reveals the artist as having abandoned seafaring genre in favor of pure marine, as having banished from view all trace of man and his works, and concentrated upon realizing with unsurpassed intensity the struggle of rock against pounding surf. As with Ryder's painting, so with Homer's: the new state of mind has prompted a loosening of manner, an opening of form, a shifting of emphasis from the center to the side of the composition—transformations that carried the painter on to truly great achievement. Such, in fact, was the strength of the new tendency that Homer felt induced, some time before 1900 and most likely about 1893-95, to bring out and repaint his old canvas, *Lost on the Grand Banks* (Fig. 6).²⁰ Although it retained much of the original linear structure, the resulting form of the painting gained appreciably by the forcing of value-contrasts, the simplification of details, and the co-ordination of sweeping lines of movement that the new mode made possible.

The adaptation of Thomas Eakins to the new art of the nineties was not, however, as strikingly in evidence. Eakins' continued adherence to portrait painting and his exclusive concern with the minute analysis of character were not practices calculated to gratify current demands that painting provide imaginative relief from the frustrations of actual life. It must be recognized, nevertheless, that Eakins could not wholly escape the current transmutation. Witness, for example, the changes made in the final state of his first portrait of his wife (Fig. 2). Judging by her appearance in the present painting, some ten years after completion of the original portrait in 1885, Mrs. Eakins posed again for her husband in the same chair and the same dress. Illness during

the interim may account for her pinched features and her careworn expression, the droop to her head and her thinner hair, but it is the new demands of the state of mind of the middle nineties that explain the transformation in the form of the picture: the alterations in the folds of the dress and the border of the curtain to unite with the greater inclination of the head in converting what was predominantly a static, rectilinear composition into one with continuous curves of action. Still more convincing proof of the modifications imposed upon Eakins' painting by this later trend in sentiment is offered by his portrait of 1894 or 1895, *Mrs. Frank Hamilton Cushing* (Fig. 8),²¹ for in it the rendering has become appreciably more shadowy and blurred, the brushwork more open and summary, the composition more dynamic, less bounded.

By the middle of the nineties painter, writer, and public had come to look upon humanity as the helpless puppet of blind force incapable of liberating itself other than by radical transformations of society. Then, with breathtaking suddenness and by routes unguessed by reformers, within less than half a decade, the whole outlook changed. Prosperity returned. The Klondike Gold Rush of 1898 robbed the Bryan "Free Silver" campaign of its very reason for existence; the enthusiasms of the Spanish-American War and attendant American imperialism undermined the support for political discontent; jobs multiplied, wages rose, farm prices increased.

Prosperity tossed unexpectedly into one's lap, however, is a disquieting experience, and men betrayed their doubts in debates on "manifest destiny" that sounded scarcely noisier than a tempest in a teapot. The hand extended to receive the bounty newly proffered by imperialistic enterprise seemed to contradict the other hand raised in protest at the means whereby it was gained. Things were probably not exactly what they seemed, but who could tell just what they were or where they were drifting?²²

The proper forms of art to minister to such a state of *malaise* are best described as rococo: forms delicately wrought, gently revealed, moving nowhere in particular but agitated nervously, playing lightly over surfaces, never piercing underneath. This new spirit transformed the art of Howells from the vigorous utopian criticism voiced by his Altrurian spokesman to a decorative and lightly satirical kind of fiction exemplified by his *Ragged Lady* of 1899. Towards the beginning of his novel a characteristic passage sets the mildly agitated pace and the note of indecision which are maintained throughout:

As she now whisked about her room in her bed-gown with an activity not predicable of her age and shape, and finally plunged under the covering and drew it up to her chin with one hand while she pressed it out decorously over her person with the other, she kept up a rapid flow of lamentation and conjecture. "I do suppose he'll be right back with her before I'm half ready; and what the man was thinkin' of to do such a thing anyway, I don't know. I don't know as she'll notice much, comin' out of such a *lookin'* place as that, and I don't know as I need to care if she did. But if the'e's care anywhe's around, I presume I'm the one to have it . . ."²³

Mark Twain, for all his superior vigor, was similarly affected. During the same year that Howells wrote the novel just cited, he composed a story entitled "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg," which runs along in the same *scherzo*-like tempo, treating the common theme of human frailty with the same lightly detached irony. Witness the following passage:

His wife sat brooding, with a drawn face, and did not seem to be aware that she was alone. Now and then she murmured, "Lead us not into t— . . . but—but—we are so poor, so poor! Lead us not into . . . Ah, who would be hurt by it?—and no one would ever know . . . Lead us . . ." The voice died out in mumblings. After a little she glanced up and muttered in a half-frightened, half-glad way—

"He is gone! But, oh dear, he may be too late—too late . . . Maybe not—maybe there is still time." She rose and stood thinking, nervously clasping and unclasping her hands. A slight shudder shook her frame, and she said, out of a dry throat, "God forgive me—it's awful to think of such things—but . . . Lord, how are we made—how strangely we are made!"²⁴

The perfect visual counterpart to the state of nervous indecision observed in both the subject and the form of this *fin-de-siècle* literature is afforded by Eakins' second portrait of his wife, finished about 1899 (Fig. 7),²⁵ but strikingly different in manner of representation from anything preceding. It is offered by Homer's *On a Lee Shore* (Fig. 10),²⁶ a marine finished in the fall of 1900 that contrasts strikingly with such works as *Weather Beaten* (Fig. 9), done five or six years before. It is offered by *The Landscape* of the Marian Y. Bloodgood collection, a work completed by Ryder about 1898.²⁷ All three paintings share in an air of suspense and brooding reflection: the Eakins portrait not only through the pose and the expression of the subject but also through the scattered play of lights across the face and the shoulders; the Homer marine through a lightening of the contrasts in values, a decorative play of line, and a broken, dainty surface pattern that oscillates rather than plunging in any single direction; the Ryder subject through the motionless poise of the farmer and the farm animals against a gently rolling stretch of country and an evening sky broken fitfully by silhouetted patches of cloud.

One sees the focal point of each canvas placed centrally, where in the interests of formal clarity one would naturally set the dominating motive. One sees it, however, with less certainty than such placing might ordinarily afford, since contradictory and disturbing elements have been allowed to develop, such features as planes cut up into fields of petty incident, restless meanderings of contour, alternating but gentle softenings and sharpenings of edge, lightly mottled brushings-in of tone. The suggestion of a mind divided against itself, noted as the prevailing state in American society at the turn of the century, and reflected in the choice and representation of subject matter in the paintings described, is thus confirmed by the manner of the rendering.

Although by 1900 the painters were already well advanced in years, they were destined to carry through yet another and a still more striking transformation of their art. In Ryder's case it seems to have been a transformation wrought during the long-continued execution of a single canvas. When Sadakichi Hartmann visited Ryder's studio some time after a magazine article of 1890 had called the artist to his attention²⁸ but before the publication of Hartmann's history in 1901, the author noted, among the artist's "half-finished" pictures lying about, one which he described as "a skeleton on horseback galloping through an empty racetrack in the moonlight."²⁹ The suicide of a waiter-acquaintance who had lost his savings in betting on a horse race provided the original motivation for the picture,³⁰ but the subject itself was suggested by the dealer Benjamin Altman for a painting he might like to buy; when Altman rejected the picture upon Ryder's presenting it, the painter carried it back to his studio, there to continue working on it intermittently for at least ten more years, and to make it, according to the artist's biographer, "the last large canvas that Ryder finished."³¹ Its completion by April, 1908, is proved, however, by its reproduction in its present state for a periodical of that date.³² The period of execution for *The Race Track; or, Death on a Pale Horse* must be accepted as lying, therefore, somewhere between about 1890 and 1908. If the changes made during the ten-year course of work upon the *Jonah* (Figs. 3 and 4) are a fair indication of the transformations usual at the hands of Ryder as long as he had access to one of his paintings, then we can imagine the metamorphosis of *The Race Track* from its beginnings in the early nineties through its intermediate rococo-like stages to its final state.

It is true, furthermore, that the present composition (Fig. 12) bears some surviving kinship to the *Jonah* of the middle nineties (Fig. 4) in the timeless, impersonal quality, for example, or the murkiness of the atmosphere; sur-

viving kinship, again, to Ryder's *Landscape* of about 1898 in the centralization of the principal forms, or the suggested continuation of space beyond the frame. More significant, however, are the innovations introduced by Ryder, innovations made apparently towards the end of the prolonged stay of the painting in the artist's studio. Instead of inclining the planes obliquely, as undoubtedly he had done in earlier versions on the canvas, Ryder came ultimately to present them here as broadly spread out. In the final state of the composition, moreover, he insisted upon dissolving these planes by every means at his disposal: opaque shadows, uniformly blurred contours, irregularly corruscated lights; and the shreds of pigment thus struck in he made to contrast so abruptly with the surrounding gloom as to seem to leap forward like phantoms from the picture while the rest seems to slip back and off to the sides.

That Ryder's intensified preoccupation towards the end of his career with speculations over death and fate and the intangibilities of existence did not lead him into some uniquely personal vision in this painting of *The Race Track* is proved by comparison with one of the last works to be completed by each of the two realists of our study: *Right and Left* (Fig. 11), begun by Homer in November, 1908, and completed in the following January;³³ *Mrs. Gilbert Lafayette Parker* (Fig. 13), one of a series of portraits of members of the Parker family painted by Eakins in 1910.³⁴ Superficially regarded, Homer's canvas might be taken for just another sporting picture, but intrinsically it penetrates to a deeper level of experience. There is nothing anecdotal about the background of waves and a splash raised by the spray of buckshot; the broadly brushed-in expanse of water is cosmic in its indefinite bigness, the splash of spray startlingly spectre-like. The broken contours of this patch and the patches of falling birds, moreover, are centrifugal, even explosive, in the force of the effect they create.

Similarly, behind the casual appearance of the Parker portrait lurk equally surprising, equally dematerializing implications. Eakins is revealed by it as still persisting in his effort to realize a "totality" of microscopically literal values and through them to present an uncompromisingly faithful likeness. Startlingly new, however, is Eakins' attack. Gone is the old respect for the normal shape of things, the old tranquility of mood and deliberate slowness of tempo. Replacing it is an unprecedented brutality of brushwork that tears the broadly confronted planes into tattered fragments of highly varied impasto. Strangest of all is the extraordinary lighting. Stark shadows cast upon Mrs.

Parker's cheek by her nose and her upturned collar seem perversely intent upon robbing the portrait of its underlying fidelity to fact. So summarily slashed in are such abnormal features, moreover, that they seem to stand out like the charred and twisted wreckage of some structure consumed by fire against a fragment in their midst miraculously spared from the flames. The sitter has been transformed by the artist to the very point of dissolution.

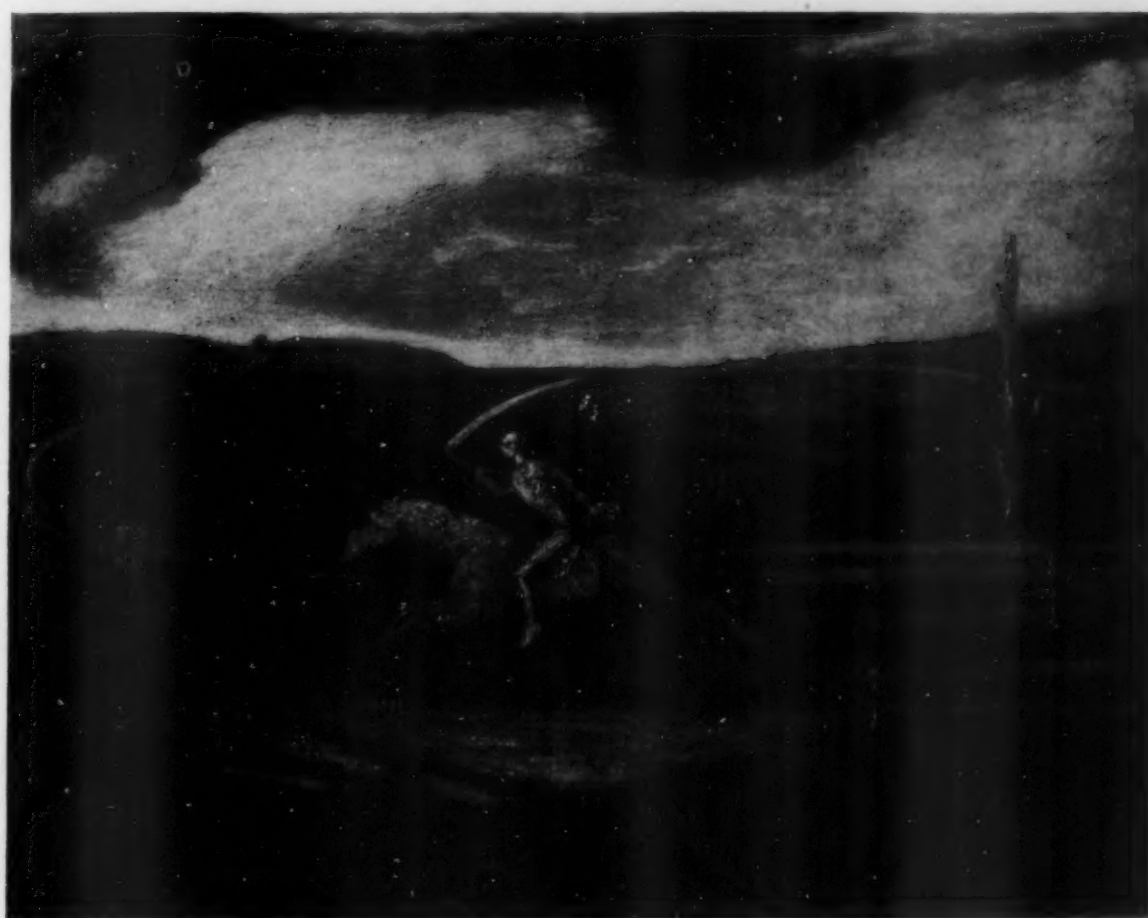
Radical alterations in the art of three aged painters whose careers were soon to end must have been impelled by profoundly disturbing forces. Habits of a lifetime are not easily reduced to a common abstractness of expression. Certainly it is not hard to account for the emotional intensification of expression at the hands of Ryder, Homer, and Eakins, because the years of 1909 and 1910 marked the height of the "Muckraking Era" in American history, when everyone was absorbed by the fight to unmask industrial monopoly and organized vice, when everyone hailed the current ideal of boundless reformatory energy personified by Theodore Roosevelt. The flames of revolt, moreover, raging in the early nineties but temporarily smothered by the *fin-de-siècle* renewal of prosperity, were fanned again by the unprecedented currency panic of 1906-07, and the subsequent depression.

The forces that led, on the other hand, to the marked dematerialization of thought which we have noted the painters as expressing, flowed deeper than the fickle currents of the stock exchange. They were forces responsible for the popular acceptance of such shockingly new ideas as the moral paradoxes of George Bernard Shaw or the sex-rooted complexes of the subconscious mind uncovered by Sigmund Freud. They were forces generated by the newly popularized automobile, which mobilized the population to an extent undreamed of theretofore, forces generated by the nickelodeon, that dramatized existence with a breathless license, forces generated by mass-produced, vividly illustrated periodicals that agitated group-thinking, forces generated by the history-making discovery that man could actually fly.²⁵ They were forces of upheaval and acceleration that swept a man off his feet, afflicted him with doubts that what he saw was real, drove him to seek in the nascent expressionism of the artist the equilibrium and the self-realization denied him by the actual world, the expressionism of rag-time in music and the dance, of aggressively fragmentary assertion in the visual arts.

Little wonder, then, that the contemporaries of Ryder, Homer, and Eakins active in the field of letters should express in written words the same novel concepts which we have noted in the paintings: matter dissolved by light,



*Fig. 11. WINSLOW HOMER, Right and Left (1909)
The Philadelphia Museum of Art (on loan from Mrs. Randall Morgan Coll.)*



*Fig. 12. ALBERT PINKHAM RYDER, The Race Track (final state, about 1908)
The Cleveland Museum of Art*



Fig. 13. THOMAS EAKINS, Mrs. Gilbert Lafayette Parker (1910)
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

converted into energy. William Dean Howells, writing in 1907 a sequel to *A Traveler from Altruria*, reverted to the utopian theme of the nineties, but in his *Through the Eye of a Needle* he expressed with concentrated fragments of letters and highlighted intensity of contrasts the new idea of an actual world shot through with the electrifying impulses of the unseen. The Altrurian in one impressive passage is conversing with the American mother of his betrothed:

... But what proof shall I give you that there is such a land as Altruria? If the darkness implies the day, America must imply Altruria. In what way do I seem false, or mad, except that I claim to be the citizen of a country where people love one another as the first Christians did?

"That is just it," she returned. "Nobody can imagine the first Christians, and do you think we can imagine anything like them in our own day?"

But Mrs. Strange—she imagines us, you say?

She thinks she does; but I am afraid she only thinks so, and I know her better than you do, Mr. Homos. I know how enthusiastic she always was, and how unhappy she has been since she has lost her hold on faith, and how eagerly she has caught at the hope you have given her of a higher life on earth than we live here. If she should ever find out that she was wrong, I don't know what would become of her.⁸⁶

Most strikingly the literary equivalent of *The Race Track or Right and Left* or *Mrs. Parker*, however, the very essence of Einstein's doctrine of the fusion of mass and energy that ushered in the new Atomic Age, is that moving *dénouement* with which Mark Twain ends, simultaneously with the formulation of Einstein's theory in 1905, the concluding novel of his life, *The Mysterious Stranger*:

I am perishing already—I am failing—I am passing away. In a little while you will be alone in shoreless space, to wander its limitless solitudes without friend or comrade forever—for you will remain a *thought*, the only existent thought, and by your nature inextinguishable, indestructible. But, I, your poor servant, have revealed you to yourself and set you free. Dream other dreams, and better!⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Attested to by an increasing number of authorities, but most fully by Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture*, Boston, 1941; also by W. R. Valentiner, "Expressionism and Abstract Painting," *Art Quarterly*, IV (1941), 210 ff.; and Ernest K. Mundt, "The Wall," *Art Quarterly*, V (1942), 300 ff. Gertrude Stein stresses the significance of Picasso's cubism in this connection. See her monograph, *Picasso*, New York, 1939, pp. 48-50.

⁸⁷ Lloyd Goodrich, *Thomas Eakins: His Life and Work*, New York, 1944, p. 154; William Howe Downes, *The Life and Work of Winslow Homer*, Boston and New York, 1911, pp. 5-7, 12, 268, 271; Forbes Watson, *Winslow Homer*, New York, 1942, pp. 13-14; Frederic Fairchild Sherman, *Albert Pinkham Ryder*, New York, 1920, p. 27. Lloyd Goodrich makes important qualifications to this claim of independence in *Winslow Homer*, New York, 1945, pp. 35-39. By assimilating influences, either from art or from society, a painter does not necessarily prejudice his originality.

⁸⁸ Goodrich, *Eakins*, p. 143; Goodrich, *Homer*, p. 203.

⁸⁹ Lewis Mumford, *The Brown Decades*, New York, 1931, pp. 223-224.

- ⁵ Goodrich, *Eakins*, pp. 111-112.
- ⁶ Goodrich, *Homer*, pp. 82-86.
- ⁷ Henry Eckford, "A Modern Colorist," *The Century Magazine*, XL, 252, 257, 258.
- ⁸ See especially Frederic L. Paxson, *History of the American Frontier: 1763-1893*, New York, 1924, p. 480 ff.; and Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City: 1878-1898* (A History of American Life, X), New York, 1933, p. 23 ff.
- ⁹ See Vernon Louis Parrington, *The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America: 1860-1920* (Main Currents in American Thought, III), New York, 1930.
- ¹⁰ William Dean Howells, *The Rise of Silas Lapham*, New York (c. 1912), pp. 167-168.
- ¹¹ Mark Twain, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (Harper's Modern Classics), New York (c. 1918), pp. 67-68.
- ¹² Reproduced in Lippincott's *Book of American Figure Painters*, Philadelphia (October), 1886, n. pl.
- ¹³ Reproduced, *ibid.*
- ¹⁴ The original version of Ryder's *Jonah* as here reproduced was engraved by Elbridge Kingsley and published in *The Century Magazine*, XL (June, 1890), 256, to accompany the article by Henry Eckford, previously cited. It had been purchased originally by Thomas B. Clarke, but some years later by R. H. Halsted, who loaned it for exhibition at the New York Athletic Club, where the author of the article apparently saw it. That the original version was largely painted about 1885 is proved by a letter from the painter to Clarke in April, 1885, quoted by Sherman, *Ryder*, op. cit., p. 50: "I am in ecstasies over my *Jonah*; such a lovely turmoil of boiling water and everything . . . If I get the scheme of color that haunts me I think you will be delighted with it." Apparently the only critic who has yet remarked at the difference between the original and the final versions of the painting is Sadakichi Hartmann, *History of American Art*, New York, 1902, p. 310, and he lumped it in its engraved form with the other engravings simply as "too much Kingsley and not enough Ryder," failing to realize, presumably, that the original paintings upon which Kingsley based his engravings might have differed from the final states seen by Hartmann on his undated visit to Ryder's studio.
- ¹⁵ See Frederick J. Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1893, pp. 199-227; Frederic L. Paxson, *When the West Is Gone*, New York, 1930; Schlesinger, *Rise of the City*, p. 120 ff.
- ¹⁶ See Parrington, op. cit., pp. 288-298, 317-319. He quotes Zola in defining naturalism, p. 180, as "realism of environment that conceived of the individual as a pawn on the chessboard of society."
- ¹⁷ Allyn B. Forbes, "The Literary Quest for Utopia, 1880-1900," *Social Forces*, VI, 179-189. Forbes reported only three utopian novels appearing in all American literature prior to 1886; only two or three others have been discovered through subsequent studies.
- ¹⁸ W. D. Howells, *A Traveler from Altruria*, New York, 1898, p. 172, 1st ed., 1894.
- ¹⁹ Mark Twain, *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc* (The Writings of Mark Twain, Vols. XVII and XVIII), New York, c. 1899, I (XVII), 296. Written, 1893-1895. First published, *Harper's Magazine*, April-December, 1895.
- ²⁰ Goodrich, *Homer*, p. 93, declares that Homer repainted the sea and sky about 1900, but later, p. 170, quotes a letter of March, 1900, from Homer to Knoedler, to the effect that the painter did some "overlooking" and painting on *Lost on the Grand Banks* and another picture after they had both been hanging in his studio about eight years. If *Lost on the Grand Banks* had been painted originally in 1885 and had remained unsold in Homer's studio for eight years, the date of the repainting would be 1893.
- ²¹ Dated by Goodrich, *Eakins*, p. 185.
- ²² A valuable study of American social history from 1896 to 1902 is to be found in Mark Sullivan's *Our Times*, Vol. I, *The Turn of the Century*, New York, 1927.
- ²³ W. D. Howells, *Ragged Lady*, New York, 1899, p. 27.
- ²⁴ Mark Twain, *The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg and Other Stories and Essays*, New York and London, 1906, p. 22.
- ²⁵ Dated by Goodrich, *Eakins*, p. 190.
- ²⁶ Dated by Goodrich, *Homer*, pp. 163-164.
- ²⁷ The date of execution is based upon a letter from Ryder to Miss Bloodgood, March 17, 1898, quoted by Sherman, op. cit., p. 58. A recent letter from Lloyd Goodrich to the writer states that the painting is now in the possession of Miss Bloodgood's nephew and heir, Frederick Kuehne of New York. Efforts to communicate with Mr. Kuehne have been unsuccessful. The painting is reproduced, Sherman, op. cit., p. 26.
- ²⁸ Eckford, op. cit.
- ²⁹ Sadakichi Hartmann, *A History of American Art* (one-vol. ed.), New York, 1934, p. 311, 1st ed., 1901.
- ³⁰ According to the painter's explanation, quoted by Sherman, *Ryder*, op. cit., pp. 46-48. The horse is referred to in this passage as Hanover, owned by the Dwyer brothers, and the race in question is described as having occurred in the Brooklyn Handicap, held in May of some year not indicated, when Hanover came in third. Hanover won a Belmont Stakes race for three-year-olds in 1887 (Frank G. Menke, *Encyclopedia of American Sports*, New York, 1944, p. 392). That Hanover was already being used as a stud by 1895, and thus no longer entered in races, is proved by an entry in *The World Almanac and Encyclopedia*, New York, 1902, p. 253. Such evidence seems to point to the fateful race leading to the waiter's suicide as occurring early in the nineties.
- ³¹ Sherman, *ibid.*
- ³² Published in connection with an article by Roger Fry, "Art in America," *Burlington Magazine*, XIII (April, 1908), Pl. III, lower fig., f. p. 63.
- ³³ Dated by Goodrich, *Homer*, p. 198.
- ³⁴ Dated by Goodrich, *Eakins*, p. 205, based on inscription on back of painting.
- ³⁵ See Mark Sullivan, *Our Times*, Vol. III, *Pre-War America*, New York, 1930.

²² W. D. Howells, *Through the Eye of the Needle*, New York and London, 1907, pp. 104-105.

²³ Mark Twain, *The Mysterious Stranger: A Romance*, New York and London, 1916, p. 150. Begun by Mark Twain in 1898, about the same time as he wrote *The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg*, but left unfinished until the winter of 1905-1906, when he "probably" wrote the concluding chapter, from which the quotation has been drawn (De Lancey Ferguson, *Mark Twain: Man and Legend*, Indianapolis and New York, 1943, pp. 278-280, 303-304). Albert Bigelow Paine, on the other hand, *Mark Twain: A Biography*, New York and London, 1912, III, 1515, suggests that Mark Twain might still have been working on this concluding chapter during the summer of 1909, only a few months before his death.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

To the various individuals and institutions indicated for their co-operation in providing photographs of paintings; to Macbeth Gallery for the photograph of Fig. 5 and Knoedler Galleries for the photograph of Fig. 9; but especially to Lloyd Goodrich, Director of the American Art Research Council, for unfailing generosity in furnishing data regarding the paintings studied.

THE GOTHIC AND TUSCAN REVIVALS IN DETROIT, 1828-1875

By HAWKINS FERRY

THE Classic Revival style of architecture had served to remind the Americans of the early republic of their affinity with the republics of Greece and Rome, but later European architectural traditions could not long be forgotten. By 1840 the Gothic and Tuscan Revival styles, which had previously been revived in England, gained universal favor in America. Spurred on by the Romantic literature of Scott, Byron, Hawthorne and Irving, Americans welcomed the gables, oriels and pinnacles of the Gothic cottage and the balconies, verandas and towers of the Italian villa. Commercial and public buildings, demanding a more formal treatment, were patterned after the Florentine palazzos with their flat façades, round arches and protruding cornices.

The unreserved admiration during this period for the great religious monuments of the Middle Ages coupled with the conviction that Gothic was the true Christian architecture made it imperative that this style should be adopted for churches. At the opening of the nineteenth century, Gothic ornament was occasionally applied to American churches in a faddish, whimsical manner. Soon, however, the publications of Pugin, Britton and others in England, containing detailed drawings of medieval churches, and the revival of interest there in ritual arrangements gave rise to a more developed Gothic Revival architecture on both sides of the Atlantic. In the latter part of the century a desire for originality and a greater knowledge of continental Gothic architecture was responsible for a hybrid style known as the Victorian Gothic, which lingered on until about 1890, when a new purist movement gave us the modern Gothic Revival.

The early Gothic Revival style of architecture did not seriously begin to compete with the Greek Revival style in Detroit until the eighteen-fifties. The new architectural mode had been slow in making its way into the interior of the country from the eastern seaboard. In the New West, brick and timber hitherto had been adequate as architectural materials; so the introduction of a type of building that properly demanded belabored structural and ornamental stone-work appeared to many a needless extravagance.

St. Paul's Episcopal Church (Fig. 1), built in 1828 on Woodward Avenue, was for many years the only building of any Gothic pretensions in Detroit.

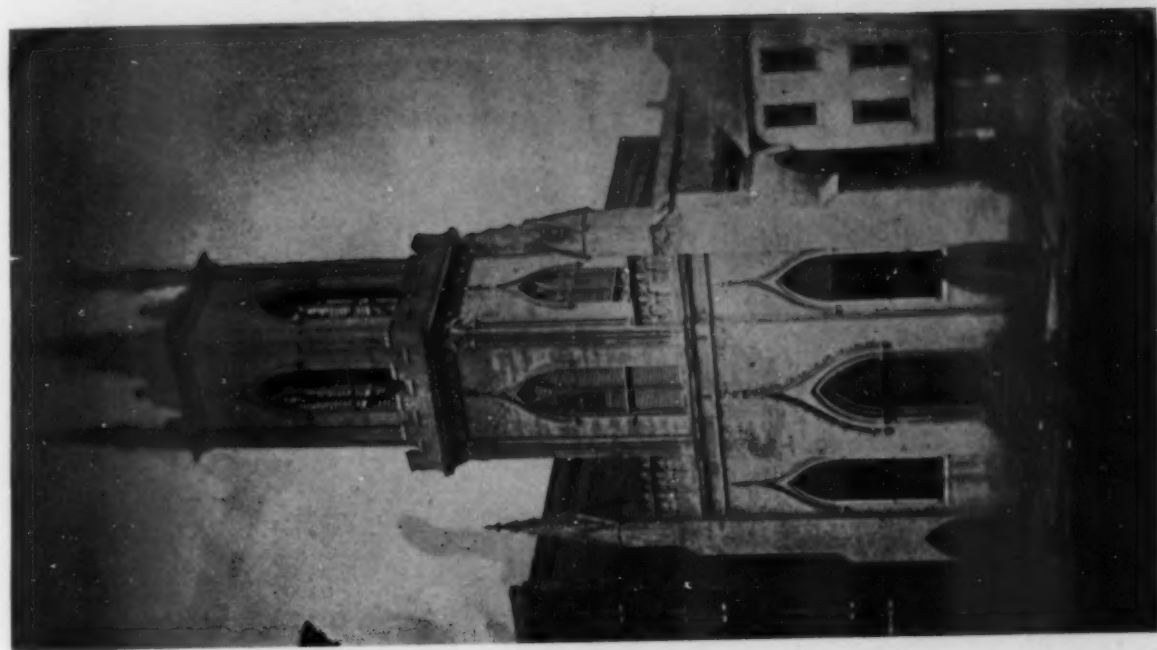


Fig. 1. ALONZO MERRILL AND CAPT. R. T. ELLIOT
First St. Paul's Church, Detroit (1828-36)

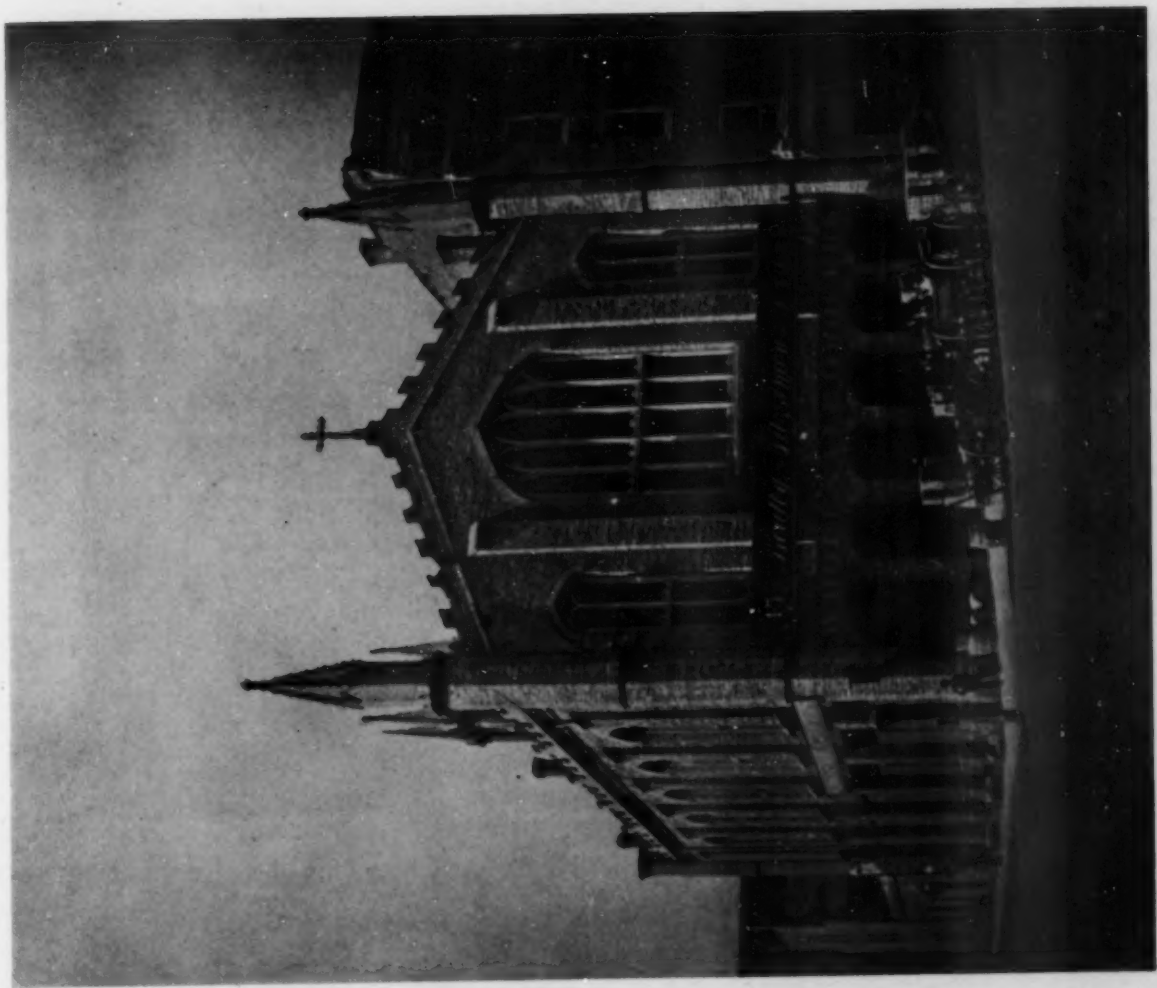
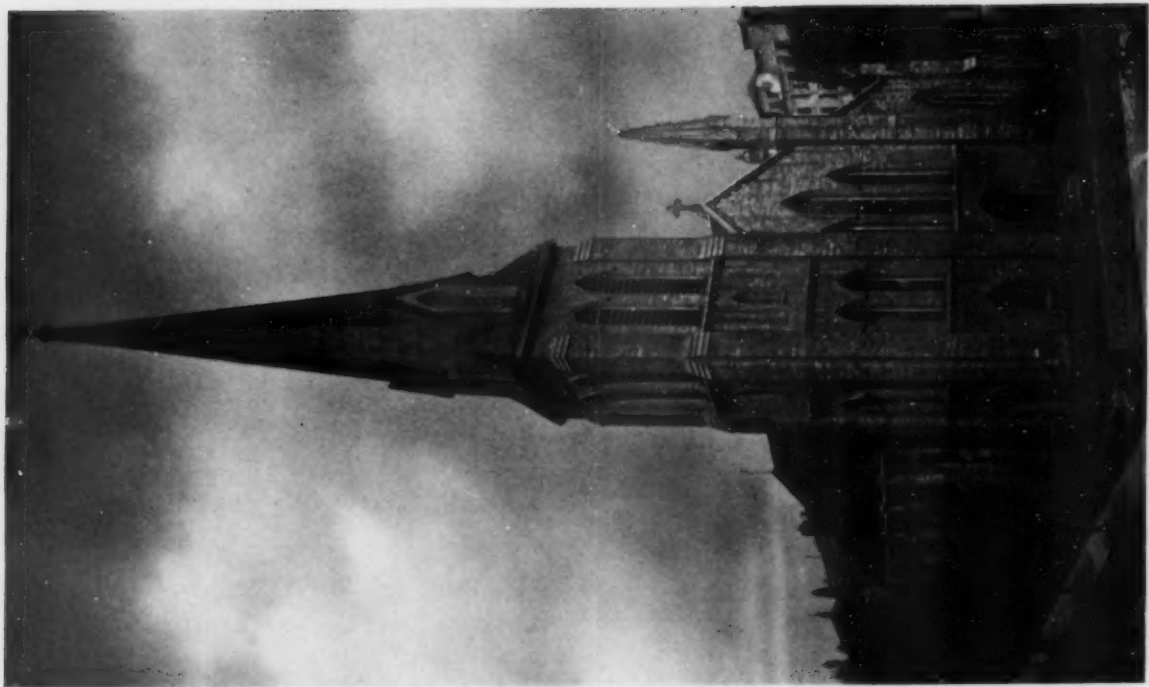
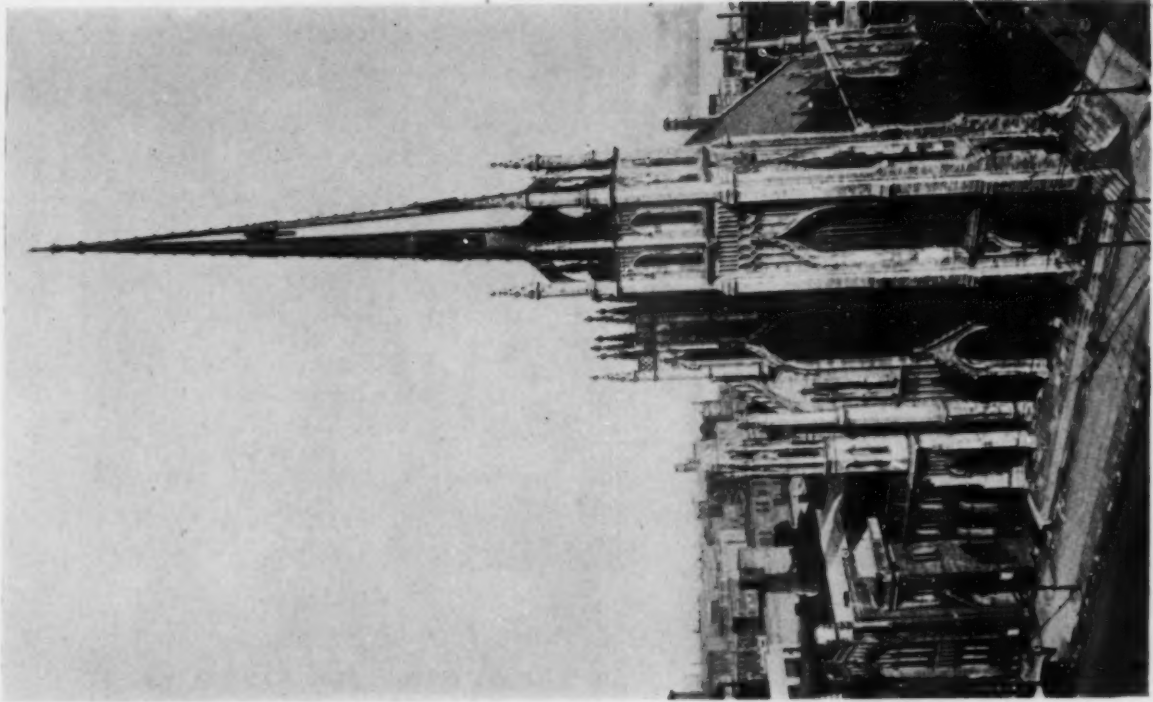


Fig. 2. CALVIN N. OTIS, *Mariners' Church, Detroit (1849)*



*Fig. 3. O. AND A. JORDAN
Second St. Paul's Church, Detroit (1852)*



*Fig. 4. O. AND A. JORDAN, Fort Street Presbyterian Church
Detroit (1855)*

Window heads were pointed instead of square and crude wooden pinnacles, battlements and moldings were applied to the rectangular brick mass of the post-Colonial meeting-house like so much frosting on a wedding cake. A surviving carpenter's contract for this church, dated 1827, alludes to "Mr. Merrill's plans."¹ Alonzo Merrill is well known for having built several of Detroit's Greek Revival churches, but the erection of a house of worship for the city's most Anglican congregation seems to have been an occasion for him to adopt the English Gothic motifs. Another architect, Captain Robert T. Elliott, remodeled the church in 1836.² So perhaps it is wise to conclude that both Mr. Merrill and Captain Elliott were responsible for the final appearance of the church as seen in the accompanying photograph. The church was demolished in 1852.

The Protestant Episcopal faith again revealed its predilection for the Gothic in the building of the Mariners' Church³ in 1849 on lower Woodward Avenue (Fig. 2). This was the first of a series of gray limestone churches that were to form the main body of Gothic Revival work done in Detroit during the next twenty-five years. The stone was obtained from quarries down the Detroit River at Malden and Trenton and sent upstream by barge. Since this stone was unsuitable for anything but rubble walls, sandstone good enough for trim and carved ornament was later obtained from quarries on the Ohio shore of Lake Erie.

On the Mariners' Church, however, wooden pinnacles, battlements and belfry were added to the limestone walls, which, in turn, were penetrated by large Tudor-arched windows separated by buttresses. Essentially it was a rectangular box-like structure with a sloping roof supported on Howe Trusses. The architect was Calvin N. Otis (1814-1883), who had lived in Buffalo since 1846. He had first learned the trade of a carpenter and joiner, which prepared him for the profession of an architect and designer.⁴ His reputation appears to have been so well established by 1847 that he was called upon in that year to build Grace Episcopal Church in Galena, Illinois, a town which was then the metropolis of that region.⁵ Two years afterward he built Mariners' Church in Detroit. Later he became a general in the Civil War.⁶

Two other architects who were responsible for some of Detroit's churches of the early fifties were Octavius and Albert H. Jordan from Hartford, Connecticut. Albert Jordan is first mentioned as a resident of Detroit in the *Directory*⁷ of 1852-3. After a short stay there in 1853, Octavius Jordan returned to his practice in Hartford, but Albert Jordan remained in Detroit until 1861,

doing most of the work on the Detroit churches and eventually becoming independent of the Hartford firm.⁷ The Jordans do not appear to have specialized in church building in Hartford; but their Detroit churches may have been inspired by the many excellent examples of Gothic Revival architecture in the Connecticut capital, such as Ithiel Town's Christ Church, 1827-29, and Henry Austin's St. John's Church, 1841-2.

On their way to Detroit the Jordans must have seen Richard Upjohn's St. Paul's Church of 1850-51 in Buffalo. In fact their first Detroit church (Fig. 3) seems like a smaller edition of the Buffalo edifice. The second St. Paul's Episcopal Church⁸ on the corner of Congress and Shelby Streets was completed in 1852. A handsome English steeple was placed at the corner of the building where it could be seen to advantage from both converging streets. On the opposite side of the asymmetrical façade was a small turret terminating in a pinnacle. The proportions of the church were good even if the early English details were simple in the extreme. An old photograph of the interior of the church⁹ reveals an audience chamber unobstructed by columns or galleries and spanned by large hammerbeam trusses. A small chancel provided a setting for the altar. Basically, the church was still the New England meeting-house, the only change being the substitution of Gothic for Georgian motifs. However, it received great acclaim in its day and undoubtedly did much to further the prestige of the Gothic style in Detroit. Eventually outgrown, the church was torn down in 1901,¹⁰ the stone being used for the Church of the Messiah, which was erected on the corner of Lafayette Avenue and East Grand Boulevard. The new St. Paul's Cathedral was finally built on Woodward Avenue in 1908-19.

The Fort Street Presbyterian Church (Fig. 4), which is still standing, was completed by the firm of O. and A. Jordan in 1855 under the supervision of Albert H. Jordan.¹¹ The main body of the church resembles the second St. Paul's Church with its vast hammerbeam trusses, yet the façade strikes a new note by being ornamented with coating of archeologically correct Gothic stone-work. On the north-east corner of the building is a turret resembling one on King's College Chapel, Cambridge; while the spire on the tower is suggestive of the spire of St. James at Louth, Lincolnshire, which Francis Bond acclaims as the "queen of English spires."¹² Its graceful silhouette is joined to corner pinnacles by flying buttresses. Perhaps the only explanation for the square tower over the front gable was the architect's desire to provide a transition between the large tower and the smaller turret. The use of correct Gothic

detail on the exterior and interior of the Fort Street church was no doubt facilitated by the availability in America of such books as Augustus Pugin's *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*, which contains beautiful delineations of details of English cathedrals.¹³ The same flat, meticulous technique may be found in the original Jordan drawings for the Fort Street and Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian Churches.¹⁴ The fallacy of such a copy-book type of architecture lies of course in the employment of Gothic ornament as a superficial appliqué rather than as a part of an organic architecture. This stemmed partly from the speed and economy with which the architects were required to construct their churches and partly from their lack of familiarity with authentic Gothic monuments. Yet the Fort Street church has, in spite of this discrepancy, the papery grace and charm common to the Gothic work done in England and America in the early nineteenth century.

Jordan used brick covered with stucco for the walls of his Gothic Jefferson Avenue Presbyterian Church¹⁵ of 1855, since demolished. A salient axial tower and spire were placed in front of the main mass of the church. On the interior wood and plaster were employed to simulate a medieval structure. There were clustered piers and ribbed vaults, and above the nave arcade were triple windows lighted from skylights.¹⁴ St. Patrick's Church in Hartford, built by P. C. Keely in 1851, may very well have served as a model for the Detroit church. The type was reintroduced in Detroit by William Himpel, a New York architect, in his St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, 1870-73 (Fig. 8), on Orleans Street. Built for a German congregation, this handsome limestone structure resembles the German "hallenkirchen."

While Albert Jordan was building his Gothic churches, he was also continuing the post-Colonial tradition in his First Congregational Church at Fort and Wayne Streets, 1854,¹⁶ and his First Presbyterian Church at State and Farmer Streets, 1855.¹⁷ The exteriors of the churches were characterized by Wren-like towers, round-arched openings and circular-headed panels divided by Tuscan pilasters. The Congregational Church bore a marked resemblance to the Pearl Street Congregational Church in Hartford, designed by Minard Lefever in 1851-52.¹⁸ A noticeable omission in both churches was the Greek Revival portico so common heretofore in both Hartford and Detroit. That the Gothic and Renaissance forms were so interchangeable in Jordan's work is a further indication that the styles were used as vocabularies of ornament and an arbitrary matter of taste rather than as entire systems of construction. With the exception of the Fort Street church, all of Jordan's churches

already mentioned have since yielded their sites for commercial buildings.

By 1855 Albert Jordan had become independent of the Hartford firm. In this year Johnston's *Detroit Directory* lists James Anderson as a draughtsman in Jordan's office. This young Scotsman (1832-1903) is known to have done a large portion of the work on the Fort Street Presbyterian Church. Still in his twenties, Anderson became a partner of Jordan in 1856.¹⁹

Their next church commission was the St. John's Episcopal Church,²⁰ 1860-61 (Fig. 5), on the corner of Woodward Avenue and High Street, now Vernor Highway. Basically similar to the second St. Paul's church and the Fort Street church, it lacks either the austerity of the former or the elaboration of the latter. Flamboyant stone window tracery and decorative details contrast with the rich texture of limestone rubble walls and accentuate the buttresses and openings of the well-composed façade. This new richness and emphasis on individual detail add unmistakable Victorian flavor to the church.

The vestry rooms, library and minister's study of the church are located in what appear from the outside to be transepts. A small chapel (built 1859) at the rear of the church with a belfry above the front gable recalls the chapel which Jordan built in Elmwood Cemetery in 1856.

Except for the First Presbyterian Church, St. John's was the only Jordan church that possessed galleries on three sides of the audience chamber, their only support being brackets extended from the wall. Large hammerbeam trusses above originally extended from wall to wall. However, in 1935 the entire church had to be moved back sixty feet because of the widening of Woodward Avenue. This made it necessary to build steel and plaster piers on either side of the nave for additional roof support. The tower was pulled down and rebuilt stone by stone in the new location.²¹

In 1858 the position of Jordan and Anderson as Detroit's ranking church architects was challenged by the arrival in the city of a young English architect. Gordon W. Lloyd (1832-1904) could scarcely be considered a newcomer to the New World, since, although born in Cambridge, England, he had come to Canada when six years of age with his parents, who settled in Sherbrooke, Province of Quebec, in 1838. He returned to England in 1847 upon the death of his father Lieutenant William Lloyd, R.N. After completing his education, he entered the architectural office of his uncle, Ewan Christian,²² a well-known church builder and restorer, who was later president of the R. I. B. A. Although Christian's work does not appear to have had any unusual merit, "his hatred of shams was proverbial."²³

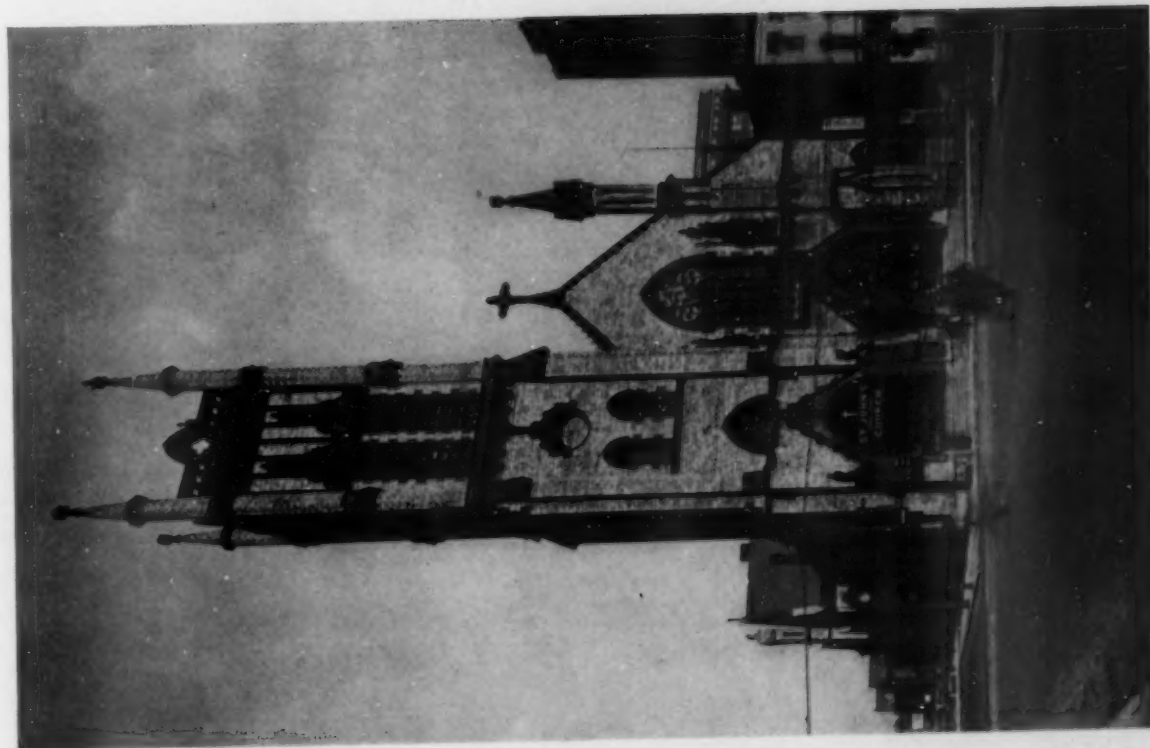


Fig. 5. JORDAN AND ANDERSON
St. John's Church, Detroit (1860-61)

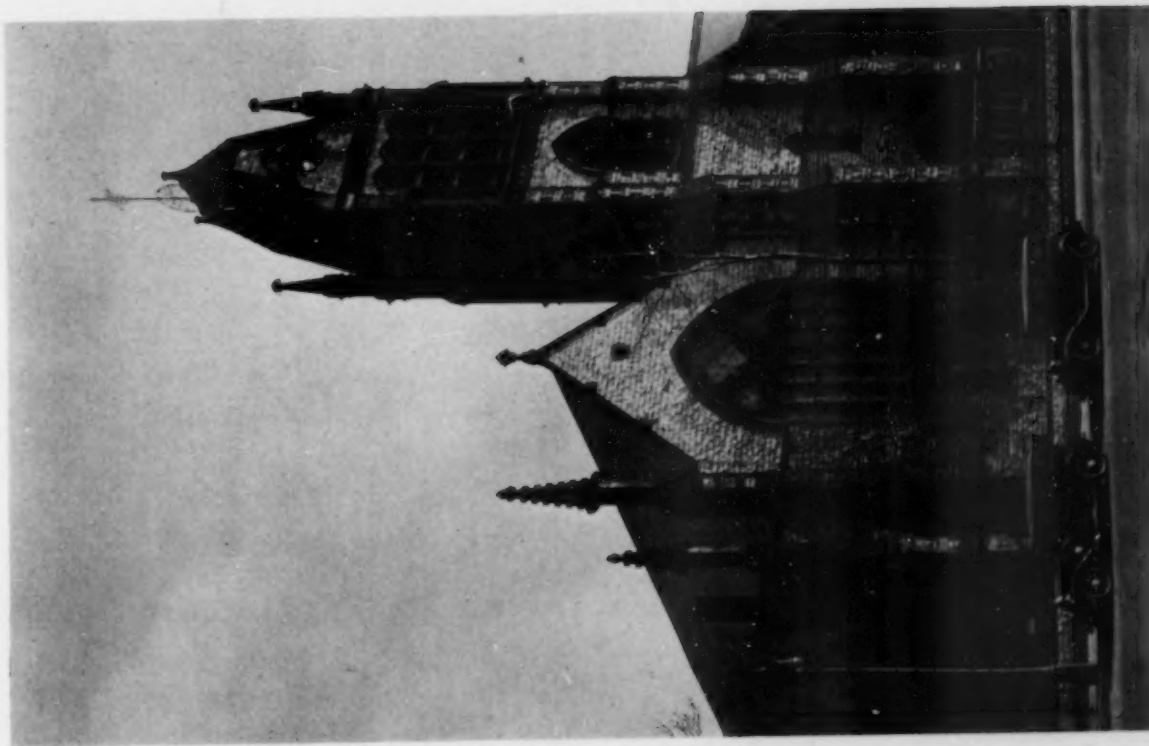


Fig. 6. GORDON W. LLOYD, *Christ Church, Detroit (1861-63)*

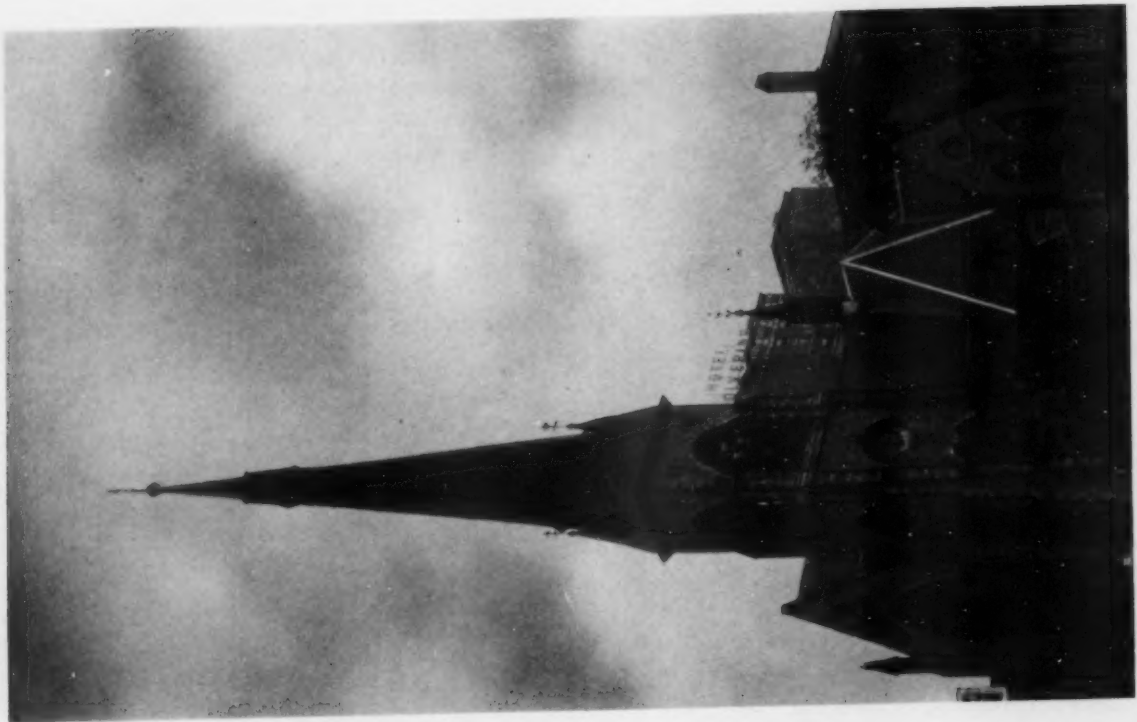


Fig. 7. GORDON W. LLOYD
Central M. E. Church, Detroit (1866-67)

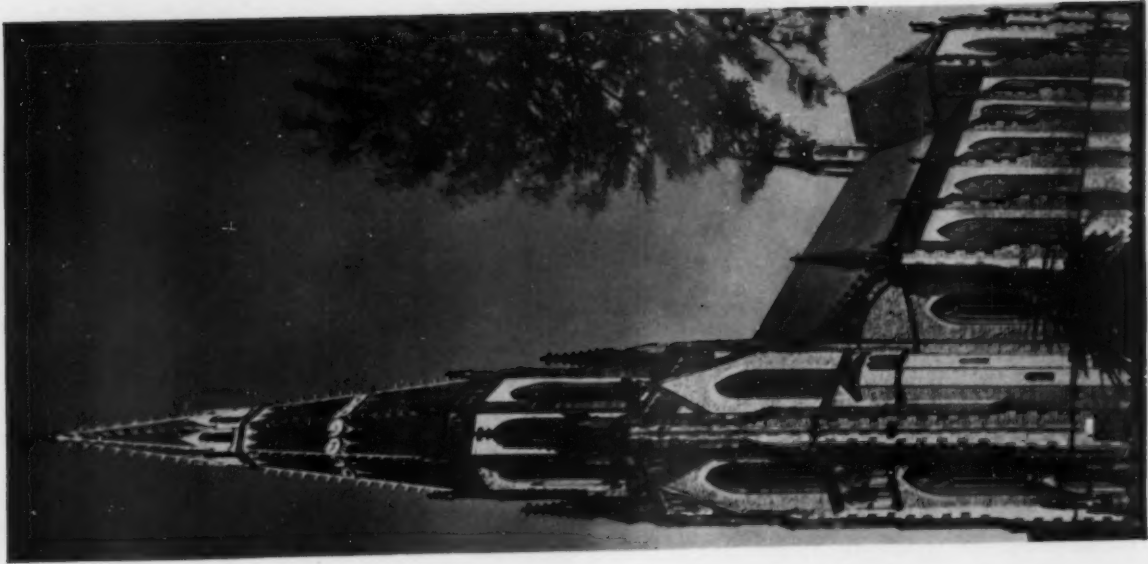


Fig. 8. WILLIAM HIMPEL
St. Joseph's Church, Detroit (1870-73)

While working in his uncle's office as an apprentice, Lloyd did a series of academic drawings of Gothic detail,²⁴ which, in their subtle shading and delineation, resemble the later published lithographs of Augustus Pugin.²⁵ During this period Lloyd also attended night classes at the Royal Academy, where R. Norman Shaw was also studying.²⁶ It is more than probable that Lloyd listened with a student's enthusiasm to Sir Gilbert Scott, who began lecturing at the Royal Academy in 1855.²⁷ At any rate, Lloyd conformed to Scott's Puginesque ideology, his insistence on secular as well as ecclesiastical Gothic, and his archeological diversity. In 1855 Scott designed what he considered his best church, Haley Hill; and it is not difficult to see in such a church a prototype for Lloyd's later work.

By the middle of the nineteenth century it was no longer sufficient for an English architect to derive his inspiration from illustrated books. To finish off his professional career, a sketching tour on the Continent became indispensable. Like Scott, Lloyd was attracted mostly by the northern European Gothic; for, although he visited Italy, he does not appear to have made any Italian sketches. However, Mr. Lloyd's son, Ernest F. Lloyd, still possesses a packet of sketches his father did in France, Germany and Switzerland. Some drawings were done in Brittany, Normandy and Touraine in the fall of 1856, but most of the scenes were drawn during a tour taken on the Moselle and upper Rhine in September and October of 1857. Among other places, he stopped at Trier, Carten, Coblenz and Mainz. Sometimes he sketched while waiting for the river steamer that took him from town to town. He made some drawings in England in February, 1858, and in Switzerland in March of the same year. All of the drawings reveal a romantic interest in medieval churches, houses and castles with their crisp Gothic detail, steep roofs and picturesque towers. Late in 1858 Lloyd returned to America. It would have been logical if he had chosen one of the older Eastern cities in which to follow his profession. Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Boston or Montreal would have been better prepared to materialize his Gothic fancies in stone than the relatively raw, near-frontier town of Detroit; but Detroit drew him as it had drawn countless other enterprising men from other parts of the world. Its strategic location on important waterways leading to a vast untapped empire of natural resources held great promise of future prosperity and importance. When Lloyd arrived in Detroit in 1858 at the age of twenty-six, the population was more than forty-five thousand; and, when he died in 1904, there were more than six times that many people residing in the city.

Lloyd began Christ Episcopal Church (Fig. 6) on East Jefferson Avenue in 1861. Upon its dedication in 1863 the *Detroit Free Press* noted: "The style of architecture is Gothic, of the early part of the fourteenth century, adapted and kept subordinate in all respects to modern requirements."²⁸ Yet in view of Lloyd's orthodox background and his familiarity with authentic Gothic monuments, it is not surprising that Christ Church is more medieval in character than the Jordan churches. There are transepts with galleries and a lofty nave arcade supporting graceful hammerbeam trusses. If the chancel was originally no deeper than its predecessor at St. John's, it was only because at that time it was customary for the choir to occupy the side or rear galleries. The practice of placing a vested choir in the chancel was not introduced into the American Episcopalian service until comparatively recently, necessitating a lengthening of the chancel of Christ Church in 1903.

It was a disappointment to Lloyd that for economic reasons it was necessary to construct the cylindrical arcade piers of plaster furred from a chamfered pine core. With such a light timber construction, Lloyd must have felt that, although a nave arcade was required to create the proper Episcopalian atmosphere, a clerestory was not appropriate. He therefore resorted to an unusual lighting expedient: spherical-triangular windows, jutting into the roof as dormers, were placed high in each bay of the lateral nave walls. However, a single large window with elaborate Decorated tracery in front of the church provided most of the illumination. The location of the tower at the corner of the façade, besides permitting this arrangement, followed the new vogue for asymmetrical composition. The tower itself is finished off with a Germanic wedge-shaped roof, while two carved and crocketed pinnacles provide a subordinate interest on the opposite side of the façade. The Victorian richness and originality of the church as a whole is enhanced by the contrast of rock-faced limestone walls and dressed sandstone trim.

In 1866-67 Lloyd built the Central Methodist Episcopal Church (Fig. 7) on the corner of Woodward and Adams Avenues.²⁹ The freedom from medieval precedent of the Methodist service provided a greater opportunity than in the case of Christ Church for individualistic and experimental architectural treatment. Hence the characteristically Victorian appearance of the Central Methodist Church. Advantageous for both seating and lighting are the broad, shallow semi-octagonal transepts. Large gables on the faces of the transepts serve to break up the external mass of the building. This increasing tendency toward multiplicity of form is also evident in the diversity of win-



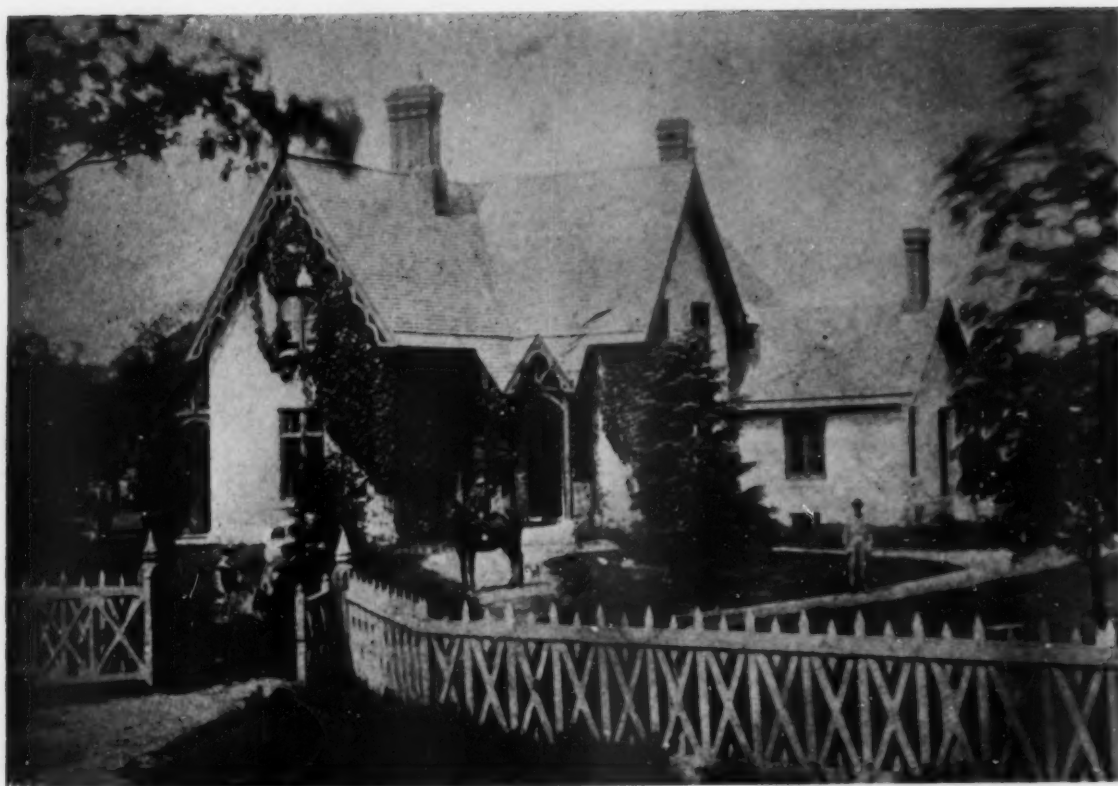
*Fig. 9. GORDON W. LLOYD
St. Andrew's Church
Ann Arbor, Michigan (1867)*



*Fig. 10. GORDON W. LLOYD, Trinity Church
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (1870-71)*



*Fig. 11. GORDON W. LLOYD, St. Paul's Church
Flint, Michigan (1873)*



*Fig. 12. GORDON W. LLOYD, Samuel T. Douglass House
Grosse Ile, Michigan (1863)*



Fig. 13. GORDON W. LLOYD, Sidney D. Miller House, Detroit (1864)

dow openings. Nevertheless, an interesting three-dimensional quality is achieved and triviality avoided by the restrained ornament and rugged masonry. An English tower with corner buttresses and a broach spire provides a strong vertical accent.

During the widening of Woodward Avenue in 1935-36, this steeple was rolled eastward twenty-six feet and the front wall was moved back, the nave being thus shortened by twenty-eight feet.³⁰ Although this disfigured the church considerably, its character was not basically altered.

The Central Methodist Church brings to mind Richard Upjohn's St. Thomas's Church, which rose in 1868-70 on Fifth Avenue in New York on the site of the present edifice of the same name by Goodhue. Here may be found the anomalous semi-octagonal transepts that appeared earlier in Lloyd's work. St. Thomas's Church was a commendable example of the Victorian phase of Upjohn's Gothic, even if it lacked the stylistic purity of Trinity Church, his masterpiece of 1839-46.³¹

Although Lloyd was thirty years younger than Upjohn, a similarity of approach is especially noticeable in their smaller churches, which are characterized by a simplicity of primary masses, a sensitivity to proportion and a restraint of detail.

Lloyd's early success in Detroit brought him many commissions throughout Michigan and Ohio. Trinity Episcopal Church, erected in Marshall, Michigan in 1861, has the charm of a small English parish church. Built of yellowish local limestone, the simple mass of the church is relieved by a chancel and a steeple. The façade is ornamented by a central window containing plate tracery.

On a larger scale is Lloyd's St. Andrew's Church, 1867 (Fig. 9), and the Congregational Church, 1872, both in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Originally these buildings were without towers, but in 1901-03 he added a fine battlemented tower to St. Andrews. There being no quarry near Ann Arbor, these churches were built of granitic fieldstone, roughly squared to form charmingly variegated wall surfaces that blend agreeably with the polychromatic slate roofs. Narrow lancet windows penetrate the fieldstone directly, requiring no trim or tracery. An instance of the experimental turn of Lloyd's mind is seen in his use of cast stone for the water table of St. Andrew's. Obsessed with the problem of eliminating the excessive cost of dressed stone, Lloyd considered at one time going into the business of making cast stone.³² The necessity of economizing also led him unwillingly to utilize cast-iron Gothic

columns to support galleries, as in the Ann Arbor Congregational Church. In St. Andrew's membered wooden piers support a small clerestory resembling a continuous dormer, penetrated by a series of quatrefoil openings.

St. Paul's Episcopal Church, 1873 (Fig. 11), in Flint, Michigan, is a more elaborate version of St. Andrew's. There is the same type of clerestory, but in addition there are full transepts and a broach spire. Fine plate tracery of dressed stone contrasts with the rusticated limestone walls. In 1873 Lloyd built St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Marquette, Michigan. Unusual features are the use of local brownstone and a tower placed diagonally at the corner of the building. Among Lloyd's Ohio churches, Trinity Church in Columbus, Ohio, 1866-69, is almost an exact duplicate of Christ Church in Detroit. Christ Episcopal Church in Springfield, Ohio, differs from the Ann Arbor Congregational Church of the same year (1872) principally in the addition of a steeple.

In 1870-71 Lloyd erected the Trinity Episcopal Church (Fig. 10) in Pittsburgh. The Pennsylvania city, at this time looming larger in the industrial world than Detroit, seems to have been in a better position to loosen its purse strings for a really large undertaking. Not limited in his use of cut stone, Lloyd could at last realize his ideal of a fully articulated academic Gothic church in his favorite Decorated style. There is a magnificent tower in four stages with a crocketed stone spire. Fine geometric tracery adorns the large window on the façade, while on each transept appear ornate rose windows. A chancel forty feet in length terminates in a polygonal apse, while clustered stone piers support a full clerestory beneath a timber barrel roof. In spite of this, the interior of the church is disappointingly lacking in medieval feeling since the nave is too wide for its height. Barring this discrepancy, the church compares favorably with some of the best Gothic Revival work done in New York and Brooklyn by Upjohn, Renwick and Lefever.

The original chapel of Trinity Church with its bell-cote flanked by two gables recalls the original chapel of the Central Methodist Church in Detroit. Both of these chapels were replaced by later church houses. Only the charming cruciform chapel of Christ Church in Detroit remains with its picturesque arrangement of lancet windows and bell-cote. This chapel was disfigured, however, by the extension of the chancel of the church proper in 1901-03.

The motif of the bell-cote above the façade was engagingly translated into wood in the St. James Episcopal Church on Grosse Ile near Detroit. The side walls are of battened boards broken by wood buttresses corresponding

to the roof trusses. Less distinguished versions of wooden churches with vertical siding were common in Detroit at the time.

The panic of 1873 seriously curtailed Lloyd's church building activities. With the exception of St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Cleveland, 1875 (now St. Paul's Shrine of the Blessed Sacrament), he did not build any more important Gothic churches. The popularity of the Gothic was waning and the relative purity of the earlier Revival styles was being submerged in the stylistic *melée* of the seventies.

The Cleveland church falls far below the mark of Lloyd's previous churches. Novelty for the sake of novelty has been introduced in a half-hearted manner. The tower is crowned by the octagonal belfry joined by flying buttresses to corner pinnacles. Rising too high above the belfry parapet the pinnacles fail to provide a satisfactory tapering effect. Elsewhere on the church flaring eaves and Swiss gables create a spurious picturesqueness.

During the period between his arrival in Detroit in 1858 and the panic of 1873, Lloyd produced a series of Gothic houses along with his churches. A product of the Pugin-Scott milieu in England, he was unswerving in his devotion to the Gothic. If the public in Detroit had not yet cultivated a taste for Gothic public or commercial buildings, he was not seriously inconvenienced, since religious and domestic work were a natural expression of his own artistic and personal convictions. He was a deeply religious man as well as a lover of home life. The vogue for artistic rural abodes then prevalent in England and America appealed to his imagination.

Silas Farmer reports that one of the earliest Gothic houses in Detroit was the T. H. Hinchman house of 1848.³³ Shorn of its Greek Revival trimmings, the simple rectangular block of the New England house had taken on the Gothic ornament that was so temptingly advocated in the current builders' guides.

Unquestionably the most charming of Lloyd's Gothic houses is the Judge Samuel T. Douglass house "Little Cote" (Fig. 12), built overlooking the Detroit River on Grosse Ile in 1863. Gables with scalloped verge-boards, ornamental brick chimneys and an assortment of porches add interest to the gray limestone walls of the cruciform house. Inside there is a library with pointed-arched bookcases recessed into the wall, a parlor, dining-room and kitchen. The woodwork of white pine includes two mantles surmounted by carved Gothic friezes. Later Judge Douglass added a law library, which projects out from the house.

More formal than the Douglass house are three limestone houses which Lloyd built in Detroit: the A. H. Dey house of 1862, the Sidney D. Miller house of 1864 (Fig. 13), and Thomas A. Parker House of 1868, all on Jefferson Avenue. Elizabethan details, interesting in themselves, have been lavished too profusely on the Dey house with little sense of scale, yet the house is not without a certain quaint charm and originality. The Miller house represents an attempt to break up the rectangular mass of the traditional urban dwelling with bay windows, pavilions and dormers. Although the design is harmonious, the Gothic details are not convincing and the entrance seems cramped. The Parker house is the most soberly dignified of them all, but its two front gables and bay window do little to relieve the flatness of the façade. Essentially these three houses follow the traditional pattern of the square, symmetrical house with a narrow central hall that serves merely as a passage and a stair well. In spite of their defects, the houses are an interesting manifestation of American taste and are similar in many respects to Gothic Revival houses done in the Eastern United States by such men as Calvert Vaux or Andrew Jackson Downing.

Perhaps Lloyd's last Gothic house was the caretaker's lodge at Forest Hill Cemetery in Ann Arbor, 1874. Its roughly cruciform shape and scalloped verge boards hark back to the Judge Douglass house. It is linked to the caretaker's office by the entrance arch of the cemetery, capped by an iron belfry. The whole composition, done in fieldstone with a polychromatic slate roof, makes a very pleasing ensemble.

Lloyd may also have built the S. D. Elwood house on Jefferson Avenue in Detroit, 1870, now demolished. The irregular asymmetrical mass of the house was further complicated by the addition of lacy verge-boards, pendants, window hoods and balconies. The increasing stylistic elaboration of the seventies was apparent.

Concurrent with the Gothic Revival, the fifties and sixties in Detroit also saw another manifestation of the Romantic tendency in architecture: the Tuscan Revival, a style which originated in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century and was flourishing in America by the middle of the century. Vaguely Renaissance detail was featured on buildings that remotely recalled the rural Lombard farm houses or the more formal Florentine palazzos.³⁴

The extent to which Italianate details were introduced varied considerably. The average Detroit residence remained the rectangular box of post-Colonial



Fig. 14. A. J. DAVIS, Bela Hubbard House, Detroit (1856)



Fig. 15. Frederick Buhl House, Detroit (1864)



Fig. 16. Merrill Block, Detroit (1854-59)



Fig. 17. JORDAN AND ANDERSON, Custom House and Post Office, Detroit (1860)

tradition, but roof lines were lowered and gables eliminated in deference to the newly introduced cornice with its large consoles or brackets. Porch columns were more slender than heretofore, and round arches were frequently introduced. The larger mansions called for a more extensive Italian repertory. The symmetrical mass of the Frederick Buhl house (Fig. 15) on Fort Street, 1864, now demolished, was embellished with a bracketed cornice, massive architraves and balustrades. A Palladian window graced the façade above a classical entrance portico. Closely related to the Buhl house was the Eber Brock Ward house (now the House of the Good Shepherd) and the Zachariah Chandler house, 1858, now demolished, both on Fort Street. Although it would be tempting to attribute all three houses to Jordan and Anderson, the Chandler house is the only one definitely known to be by this firm.⁸⁵ Like Upjohn, they preferred to build residences and public buildings in the Italianate manner, reserving the Gothic for their churches. The stuccoed brick Chandler house followed more than the previously mentioned houses the Florentine palazzo style revived by Sir Charles Barry in his London clubs: there was a flat roof, round arches on the ground floor and an additional third story. The newly resuscitated Tuscan order adorned a porte-cochère.

More informal than these dwellings was the asymmetrical Italian villa with its campanile and colonnaded verandas. The principal master and exponent of this idiom in America was Alexander Jackson Davis (1803-1892) of New York, equally well known for his Gothic work.⁸⁶ In the fifties Davis built three Italian villas⁸⁷ on the outskirts of Detroit near Fort Street, none of which remain today. The Detroit houses belong to a series of Italian villas which Davis designed at this time, the most notable of which is the E. C. Litchfield residence of 1854, still standing in Prospect Park, Brooklyn, New York. Avoiding mere repetition, each house was an interesting variation on the same theme, a study in related masses that aptly illustrated Davis's designation of himself as an "architectural composer."⁸⁸ The new irregularity of plan and composition represented the ultimate in Romantic rebellion against classic formulae and, in so doing, provided a foretaste of the organic planning of today. Andrew Jackson Downing's phrase, "harmony growing out of variety,"⁸⁹ might well be applied to the Daniel Scotten house,⁴⁰ 1856, in Detroit, with its four different roof levels, its arched and square-headed apertures and its ubiquitous verandas. Tuscan columns, balustrades and bracketed cornices rounded out the Italian theme of the house.

There was more repose in the less complicated design of Bela Hubbard's

house, "Vinewood," 1856 (Fig. 14), the name of which was derived from the many large vine-clad trees on the semi-wild Hubbard estate. These ample grounds afforded Hubbard an opportunity to indulge extensively in landscape gardening, a pursuit which was stimulated by his fondness for the many volumes on the subject by the famous architect and landscape gardener, Andrew Jackson Downing. The Hubbard library, which reflected the broad literary and scientific interests of its owner, was modeled after Sir Walter Scott's library at Abbotsford, replete with diamond window panes, a window seat and busts of worthies above the bookcases.⁴¹ The library opened upon an octagonal entrance hall, from which the main staircase rose to a landing, where the Hubbard crest was displayed in the window glass. Across the hall from the library was a parlor which connected with dining-room and conservatory.

The smallest of the Davis trio of Italian villas was the Christopher Reeve house of 1855. Other Detroit houses of a somewhat similar nature were the Thomas W. Palmer house on Woodward Avenue, 1864-74, now demolished, and the John J. Bagley house, 1869 (formerly on the site of the Statler Hotel).

Modified Italian forms were also adapted to the commercial architecture of the day, a good example being the Merrill Block, 1854-59 (Fig. 16), still standing on the corner of Woodward and Jefferson Avenues, architect unknown. There is a monumental dignity in the simple mass of the building with its unadorned walls relieved only by the regular rhythm of triple windows with heavy architraves and a unifying cornice terminating the building. Structures of a similar nature, which do not survive today, were the Buhl Block, 1868-87, and the Moffat Building, 1871.

Jordan and Anderson were the architects for some of the most important public buildings erected in Detroit during the fifties and sixties.⁴² They built the Marine Hospital on East Jefferson Avenue in 1857:⁴³ a rectangular three-storied edifice of brick with a string course above the ground story, a cornice and quoins at the wall corners. The front and rear of the building are faced with iron balconies, originally covered with iron scroll work. The construction is completely fire proof: the floors are composed of rolled iron beams supporting brick arches covered with concrete, while the roof is made of similar arches covered with asphalt and galvanized iron roofing. Upon the completion of the building, the *Detroit Free Press* asserted: "The character of the work is in advance of anything heretofore built in the city."⁴⁴

Jordan and Anderson also built the former Custom House and Post Office,

1860 (Fig. 17), on the corner of Griswold and Larned Streets. The interior construction is the same as in the Marine Hospital, but the exterior walls are of sandstone ashlar.⁴⁵ The basement rustication, the string courses dividing each floor, the round-arched windows and the terminating cornice are suggestive of Barry's London clubs, yet there is a certain monotony and coarseness of detail that bears a closer resemblance to some of Richard Upjohn's commercial edifices in New York of the same period.⁴⁶

James Anderson later built the Detroit City Hall, 1868-71, in the French Renaissance style. It marks the beginning of a new period of eclecticism. Previously the Gothic and Tuscan Revival styles had been characterized by relatively consistent and restrained stylistic repertoires and an emphasis on primary masses. After the Civil War, however, an increased ease of travel to Europe and a greater use of photography exposed architects and clients to a wider variety of architectural monuments; but the task of sifting these elements and applying them to contemporary buildings was not always as skillfully done as in the case of the Detroit City Hall. Serving to intensify the general confusion of architectural design during this period, the equivocal writings of Ruskin, Eastlake, and others hastened the retreat of architecture behind a bewildering incrustation of gingerbread.

- ¹ Letter from N. Moon to James Abbott, Esq., July 12, 1827, St. Paul's Episcopal Church manuscripts, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.
- ² Richard R. Elliott, "Judge Robert T. Elliott," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collection*, XXVI, 559.
- ³ *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, Dec. 22, 1849.
- ⁴ George H. Stowits, *History of the One Hundredth Regiment of New York State Volunteers*.
- ⁵ W. P. A. *Illinois Guide*, p. 339.
- ⁶ Shrove's *Business Advertiser and Detroit Directory*, 1852-3.
- ⁷ See Johnston's *Detroit Directories* and Geer's *Hartford Directories*.
- ⁸ See contract between O. & A. Jordan and Jackson & Wiley, Iron Founders, for a fence around St. Paul's Church, July 1, 1853, James Anderson Manuscripts, Burton Historical Collection.
- ⁹ In the Burton Historical Collection.
- ¹⁰ *Detroit Free Press*, August 2, 1901.
- ¹¹ *Detroit Daily Free Press*, Nov. 17, 1855.
- ¹² Francis Bond, *English Church Architecture*, p. 954.
- ¹³ Augustus Pugin, *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*, 1821—vol. I, pls. XXXII and XXXIII and vol. II, pls. VIII, and XLVI.
- ¹⁴ The drawings are now at the Detroit Institute of Arts.
- ¹⁵ Johnston's *Detroit Directory*, 1855-56, "Churches of Detroit," p. 39.
- ¹⁶ *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, March 28, 1853.
- ¹⁷ *Detroit Daily Democrat and Inquirer*, Sept. 8, 1855.
- ¹⁸ "A Half-Century History of the Farmington Ave. Congregational Church organized as the Pearl Street Congregational Church in Hartford, Conn.," pp. 19-24.
- ¹⁹ *Detroit News*, Oct. 2, 1903.
- ²⁰ The *Detroit Daily Tribune*, Apr. 27, 1860.
- ²¹ *Detroit News*, June 15, 1937.
- ²² *Detroit Free Press*, Dec. 25, 1904.
- ²³ Basil F. S. Clarke, *Church Builders of the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 158-59.
- ²⁴ The drawings are now in the possession of Mr. Ernest F. Lloyd, Ann Arbor, Mich., son of Gordon W. Lloyd.
- ²⁵ Augustus Pugin, *Gothic Ornaments*, 1844.
- ²⁶ Information of Ernest F. Lloyd.
- ²⁷ Sir George Gilbert Scott, *Personal and Professional Recollections*, p. 175.
- ²⁸ *Detroit Free Press*, Apr. 9, 1863.
- ²⁹ *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, Nov. 16, 1867.
- ³⁰ *Detroit Free Press*, May 9, 1936; *Detroit News*, June 7, 1936.
- ³¹ Everard M. Upjohn, *Richard Upjohn, Architect and Churchman*, pp. 178-180.
- ³² Information of Ernest F. Lloyd.
- ³³ Silas Farmer, *The History of Detroit and Michigan*, p. 374.
- ³⁴ See Roger Hale Newton, *Town & Davis, Architects*, pp. 224-248.
- ³⁵ *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, Mar. 29, 1858.
- ³⁶ In 1838 the University of Michigan rejected a Gothic design for a University building submitted by Davis and Ithiel Town.
- ³⁷ Diagrams of the plans and front elevations of these houses are in the Davis diary, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Engravings of the Hubbard and Scotten houses appear in Silas Farmer's *History of Detroit and Michigan*, 1889, pp. 404-5.
- ³⁸ Robert Hale Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
- ³⁹ A. J. Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses*, 1856, p. 318.
- ⁴⁰ The Scotten house was originally built by Bela Hubbard for his father-in-law, J. C. Baughman.
- ⁴¹ Information of Mrs. Alanson Books, daughter of Bela Hubbard.
- ⁴² Two of A. H. Jordan's public buildings not mentioned in this article are: The Michigan State Asylum for the Insane, near Kalamazoo (see Johnston's *Detroit Directory*, 1855-56, p. 235) and the Asylum for the Deaf, Dumb and Blind, near Flint (Johnston's *Detroit Directory*, 1857-58, p. 98).
- ⁴³ Johnston's *Detroit Directory*, 1857-58, p. 98.
- ⁴⁴ *Detroit Daily Free Press*, Aug. 14, 1857.
- ⁴⁵ Johnston's *Detroit Directory*, 1859, pp. 25-26; *Detroit Free Press*, Oct. 11, 1857; *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, May 18, 19, 1858.
- ⁴⁶ Everard M. Upjohn, *op. cit.*, p. 130, figs. 90-1.
- Special acknowledgments are due to the following: Professor Buford L. Pickens, formerly of Wayne University, for his assistance in the preparation of this manuscript; Mr. Ernest F. Lloyd of Ann Arbor for his patience and kindness in imparting information regarding his father's work; Professor Emil Lorch, formerly Dean of the U. of M. School of Architecture, for his helped in pointing out little known works of Lloyd and Jordan; Mr. Wayne Andrews for discovering the Detroit houses by A. J. Davis; for the inspiration and information derived from previous research on the subject in the following articles: "The Development of Architecture" by Emil Lorch, *Michigan W. P. A. Guide*, 1941; "Treasure Hunting in Detroit," by Buford L. Pickens, *Architectural Review*, London, December, 1944; "A Study of Nineteenth Century Church Architecture in Detroit," by William Woolfenden, a manuscript in the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit; and finally to the librarians of the Burton Historical Collection, whose co-operation was so invaluable in securing much necessary documentation.

DANIEL'S DREAM—A SIGNIFICANT MISNOMER

By SHERMAN E. LEE

THE auto-da-fé held on the Piazza della Signoria by Fra Savonarola and his followers in 1497 was symbolic of a basic cleavage in Renaissance society. The nature of the objects burned is singularly one-sided:

False beards, masks, and carnival disguises; above came volumes of the Latin and Italian poets, among others Boccaccio, the "Morgante" of Pulci, and Petrarch, partly in the form of valuable printed parchments and illuminated manuscripts; then women's ornaments and toilet articles, scents, mirrors, veils and false hair; higher up lutes, harps, chess boards, playing cards; and finally, on the two uppermost tiers, paintings only, especially of female beauties, partly fancy-pictures, bearing classical names of Lucretia, Cleopatra or Faustina, partly portraits of the beautiful Bencina, Lena Morella, Bina and Maria de' Lenzi.¹

In short, the trappings of the intelligentsia, high society and their patrons of that day, with especial attention paid to objects reflecting the "revival of classical antiquity."

Much of the force in the anti-pagan movement can be attributed to the remarkable qualities of Savonarola himself; but he too was a symbol, a manifestation of the deep rooted piety (superstition in the language of Burckhardt and modern criticism) of the great mass of the people. The long medieval tradition was not to be brushed aside without a counter blow. For the peasantry and the townsmen the *Rinascimento* meant a change in the mind of their masters as well as the masters themselves. In practice the rule may have been equally benevolent or harsh; but the change in theory from medieval doctrines of kingship and lordship and their intimate ties with the morality of the Church, to the theoretical immorality and egotism inherent in Macchiavelli cannot be counted as an upward step. The folk, led by the medieval type of the religious hero, revolted and classicism became one of the chief objects of their attack.

This hostility existed before 1497 and certainly after. It crops up in curious ways: omissions, misnomers, slips of the tongue, etc. A most interesting example is to be found in a majolica plate from Deruta in the collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts (Figs. 1 and 2). The origin of the subject is immediately recognizable. It is the so-called *Sogno* of Michelangelo, known to us through a school drawing (Fig. 3). This drawing was recently published by Panofsky² who revives a most convincing interpretation by Tetius on the

basis of Neo-Platonism. The drawing represents "The human mind called back to Virtue from the Vices, as though it were repatriated after a long journey."³ The characterization of the vices is obvious and the phallus mentioned by Brinckmann⁴ as adding to the characterization of Lust is quite clear in the plate while it is not in the drawing. Aside from this, the subject is identical, allowing for a certain reforming to fit the circular space.

But when we turn the plate over we are confronted by an inscription in the vernacular (Fig. 2), which roughly translated reads:

Daniel dreaming of seeing the liberated dead, there being a great turmoil when the angel came from heaven and awakened them—1545.

Now Deruta was a center for ceramics with classical subjects and it would be reasonable to assume that they knew the elements of their subjects. Yet by no stretch of the imagination can it be assumed that the drawing represents one of the visions or dreams described in Daniel. Tetius and Panofsky are certainly right. The explanation of the discrepancy lies in the underlying and fundamental breach between the Renaissance Neo-Platonic Tradition and the Medieval Christian Tradition. Since even the Papacy was invaded by the classic pox and such a man as Savonarola was hanged and burned, the folk remained the well of piety; and the humble potters of Deruta were folk doing the bidding of their master and the emancipated artist. The revived Neo-Platonism was nothing or anathema to them. The Church, the Bible and "superstition" were their lore.

There is a second lesson, known but oft forgotten, to be learned from this ceramic. Circumstantial evidence is useful. It can hang a man justly—or unjustly. The nearly coincidental rise of criminology and artistic analysis is food for thought. The lessons learned by the parent science as to the validity of circumstantial evidence must be carefully studied and assessed, especially by iconologists. Otherwise we shall build false theories from ancient data such as our Deruta plate, while overlooking its real significance as a misnomer. One must instinctively beware of the closely woven web of deduction which has carried modern scholarship so far but which remains only a tool, with a limited use. A recent excellent book on Piero di Cosimo⁵ for example, contains a typical example of the detective's fallacy, where all depends upon the significance of what is not present in Vasari and upon the state of mind imagined by the author in a man as various as Vasari. Another example can be found in one of the best works of modern scholarship⁶ in which an author recently questioned the validity of Coomaraswamy's article on Dürer's *Knoten*



Fig. 1. Majolica Plate,
Deruta, Composition after
Michelangelo's "Sogno"
Detroit Institute of Arts

Fig. 2. Reverse of the
Deruta Plate with
inscription dated 1545 →



Fig. 3. Lo Sogno, after
Michelangelo, Weimar,
Palace of the Grand Duke

partially on the grounds that not the architect but the Bishop of the diocese was represented in the place of Daedalus in the center of the labyrinths of Amiens and Rheims. Actually the church building in medieval parlance is not particularly the work of the architect but of the ecclesiastical authority. The Church is nothing until it is consecrated, then and there is it builded.

We can be fairly safe only when we add to our eyes and our science the eyes and minds of those peoples we are studying, however laborious the task of recreating their point of view. Only then can the interpretation of evidence be sufficiently sound and probable.

¹ Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, copyright ed., Vienna, p. 252.

² Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, N. Y., Oxford, 1939, pp. 223-225, Fig. 167.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

⁴ A. E. Brinckmann, *Michelangelo Zeichnungen*, Munich, 1925, p. 48.

⁵ R. Langton Douglas, *Piero di Cosimo*, Chicago, 1946, p. 59.

⁶ Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton, 1945, II, 165.

RECENT IMPORTANT
ACQUISITIONS
OF AMERICAN COLLECTIONS



GEORGES DE LA TOUR, *Girl Singing*
San Francisco, California Palace of the Legion of Honor

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THE RECENT ACQUISITIONS

GEORGES DE LA TOUR

From an article by Thomas Carr Howe, Jr. in the *Bulletin* of the California Palace of the Legion of Honor, September, 1946.

The museum's recent acquisition of a fine canvas by Georges de la Tour affords a welcome and logical opportunity to discuss the work of that rare and gifted master of the seventeenth century French school.

Thanks to the preponderant emphasis, which, until comparatively recent years, was placed upon that immortal trio of artists—Poussin, Claude Lorrain and Charles Le Brun—who dominated the field of classic and official painting in France during the seventeenth century, the artistic contributions of an important group of their actual and near contemporaries were unjustly neglected. Upon closer examination, it becomes apparent that the century, artistically speaking, may be divided into two sharply defined periods—the first embracing the reign of Louis XIII (1610-1643) and the minority of Louis XIV (1643-1661), the second encompassing the reign of le Grand Monarque (1661-1715).

The career of Georges de la Tour falls entirely within the first of these two periods—the span of fifty years during which French art was manifestly baroque. A native of Lorraine, he was born in the small town of Vic-sur-Seille, not far from Nancy, on March 19, 1593. Little is known of his early years and artistic training. However, it appears that he was recognized as a "Master" before he was twenty-eight years old, for he was addressed by that title on the occasion of the baptism of one of his children in 1621. Judging from the influence of Caravaggio and his followers—Honthorst, Terbruggen and Orazio Gentileschi—upon the work of La Tour, it is possible, even likely, that he made a trip to Italy some time between 1610 and 1620, a period when all of these painters were working together in Rome. Such a journey was an accepted part of an artist's education in the seventeenth century and virtually every one of Georges de la Tour's artistic contemporaries in Lorraine followed this established custom. From 1621 until his death on January 30, 1652, he worked almost exclusively in his native province.

During those thirty years he enjoyed a wide local reputation. The dukes of Lorraine were among his patrons and when Louis XIII visited the duchy between 1631 and 1633 the artist presented the king with one of his paintings. The subject of the picture was *St. Sebastian in the Night* and the monarch was so favorably impressed by the composition that he conferred upon La Tour the title of "Painter to the King." From that time on until the end of his life he was regarded as the outstanding artist of Lorraine.

It is one of those curious phenomena in which the history of art too richly abounds that a painter of La Tour's great individuality and distinction should have suffered a total artistic eclipse for more than two hundred years after his death. According to Paul Jamot, who was perhaps the foremost authority on the artist's life and work, the reason for this neglect was twofold: first, the fact that he worked in the provinces; second, the character of his work. He pointed out that practically all of the artistic forces of the country were, after 1630, absorbed by Paris at the expense of the provinces; and further, that with the founding of the Academy, French art took such a positive turn toward the classic that the naturalistic movement and the school of Caravaggio—to which La Tour belonged—were regarded with cold contempt.

The revival of interest in the artist was gradual. It began in the eighteen-sixties with the publication of his biography

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AUGUSTE RODIN, *St. John the Baptist*
St. Louis, City Art Museum

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by an architect of Nancy. Another fifty years elapsed before the German scholar, Hermann Voss, identified a number of his works. In 1927 Pierre Landry discovered a signed painting by the artist—*The Sharper*, which represented a daylight scene. Up to that time it was believed that La Tour had painted only night scenes.

Using this signed canvas as a point of departure, Landry identified several works formerly attributed to Velasquez, Zurbaran and Herrera as being by La Tour. Finally, in 1934, there was held in Paris an exhibition entitled "The Painters of Reality in France in the XVIIth Century." In this exhibition were assembled practically all of the artist's known works—only a dozen all told.

Today Georges de la Tour has been restored to his rightful place among the great painters of the French school. Although influenced by Caravaggio, he was no servile imitator of that master. From him La Tour borrowed his dramatic chiaroscuro; but he adapted it, in a manner peculiarly his own, to achieve an effect of profound and authentic religious emotion. His striking use of light and shade, coupled with an instinctive aptitude for rhythmic and geometric composition, endows his works with a personal distinction of the highest order.

These qualities characterize the appealing composition, entitled *Girl Singing*, which has just been added to the Museum's permanent collection. The restrained use of color and the play of light on the girl's face produce a deeply moving effect. One observes this same serious and religious expression on the faces of the two women in the artist's great *St. Sebastian Mourned by St. Irene* of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Also, in both pictures we find parallel color schemes. Opinions differ as to which period of the artist's activity the Berlin picture belongs. It has been attributed by some critics to the years 1631-1633 and identified with the painting which La Tour presented to Louis XIII; by others it is considered an example of the artist's late style. In either case, the points of similarity incline one to suspect that the two paintings are not far apart in date.

Reference has been made to the rarity of Georges de la Tour's work. While a few have been discovered since the Paris exhibition of 1934, in which the dozen recognized at that time were included, the number is still surprisingly small. Only two or three are owned by museums of this country, and the representation in private collections this side of the Atlantic is equally slight. In the former category, mention should be made of the appealing *Girl with a Rat-Tail Candle*, owned by the Detroit Institute of Arts. The painting depicts one figure from a picture by La Tour in a Paris private collection which represents the Education of the Virgin. A workshop copy of this picture was discovered not long ago in the Museum of Dijon.

The *Mother and Child* in the collection of A. Meurray Vaughan, Ottawa, almost identical in size with the canvas just acquired by the California Palace of the Legion of Honor, reveals the same figures which, attended by a seated old woman, appear in an engraving ascribed to Jean Le Clerc of Nancy. The engraving reproduces a lost original by La Tour, the subject of which was the Virgin and Child with St. Anne. The similarity of treatment in the Detroit picture and that of the Vaughan collection suggests a chronological relationship between them and the *Girl Singing*. The modeling of the contours in the latter picture is softer, the light more widely diffused; but, despite these differences, the spiritual kinship is obvious.

On the occasion of the exhibition held at the Knoedler Galleries and the Chicago Art Institute in 1936, the representation was confined to the paintings of Georges de la Tour and the three Le Nain brothers. And while that distinguished collection served the invaluable purpose of introducing La Tour to the American public, the exhibition of "French Painting of the

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JOHN PIPER, *House of Commons*, 1941
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time of Louis XIII and Louis XIV" held at the Wildenstein Galleries in New York in May of this year, embracing the painting of an entire epoch, provided a survey of inestimable importance. It is to be hoped that the attention of the public thus focussed on one of the significant periods in art history will not be easily diverted.

"ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST" BY AUGUSTE RODIN

An important addition to the modern sculpture collection of the City Art Museum of St. Louis is the recently acquired life-size bronze, *St. John the Baptist*, by the famous French sculptor Auguste Rodin (1840-1917). Finished in 1878, this statue is a masterpiece of Rodin's early period and a climactic summation of his profound study of realistic movement.

In his long, richly productive career, Rodin never surpassed in expression the deep spiritual force which animates this inspiring conception of the Prophet in the Wilderness. Every inch of the superbly finished bronze seems to pulsate with life and movement so that the St. John appears to be more alive than life itself. At this moment in history when the world looks hopefully for a reaffirmation of spiritual values, the faith in such values as here revealed by a giant among sculptors shows how powerfully Art may serve this noble end.

This bronze cast was made under Rodin's supervision and for many years stood in an Alpine setting on the Bavarian estate of the late Michael Berolzheim from whose heirs it was acquired.

MODERN BRITISH PAINTING IN CANADA

By Kathleen H. Moss

Contemporary British painting, although among the most lively arts of today, is too little known on this side of the Atlantic. This situation is shortly to be alleviated in Canada, for the Massey Foundation, under the able trusteeship of the Right Honorable Vincent Massey, P.C., and Mrs. Massey, has presented the Canadian people with what will be the largest collection in America of the works of the twentieth century British School. The seventy-five paintings are to be housed in the National Gallery at Ottawa, where they will be a valuable adjunct to the present collection of British painting of all periods. They are to be exhibited throughout Canada in order that the whole nation may benefit from this most generous gift.

The Massey collection including the work of nearly all the significant artists of this century was selected with such a progressive but catholic taste that it will attract the attention of all groups. All the important trends since 1900 are here represented with a variety of personal styles and an underlying common national feeling.

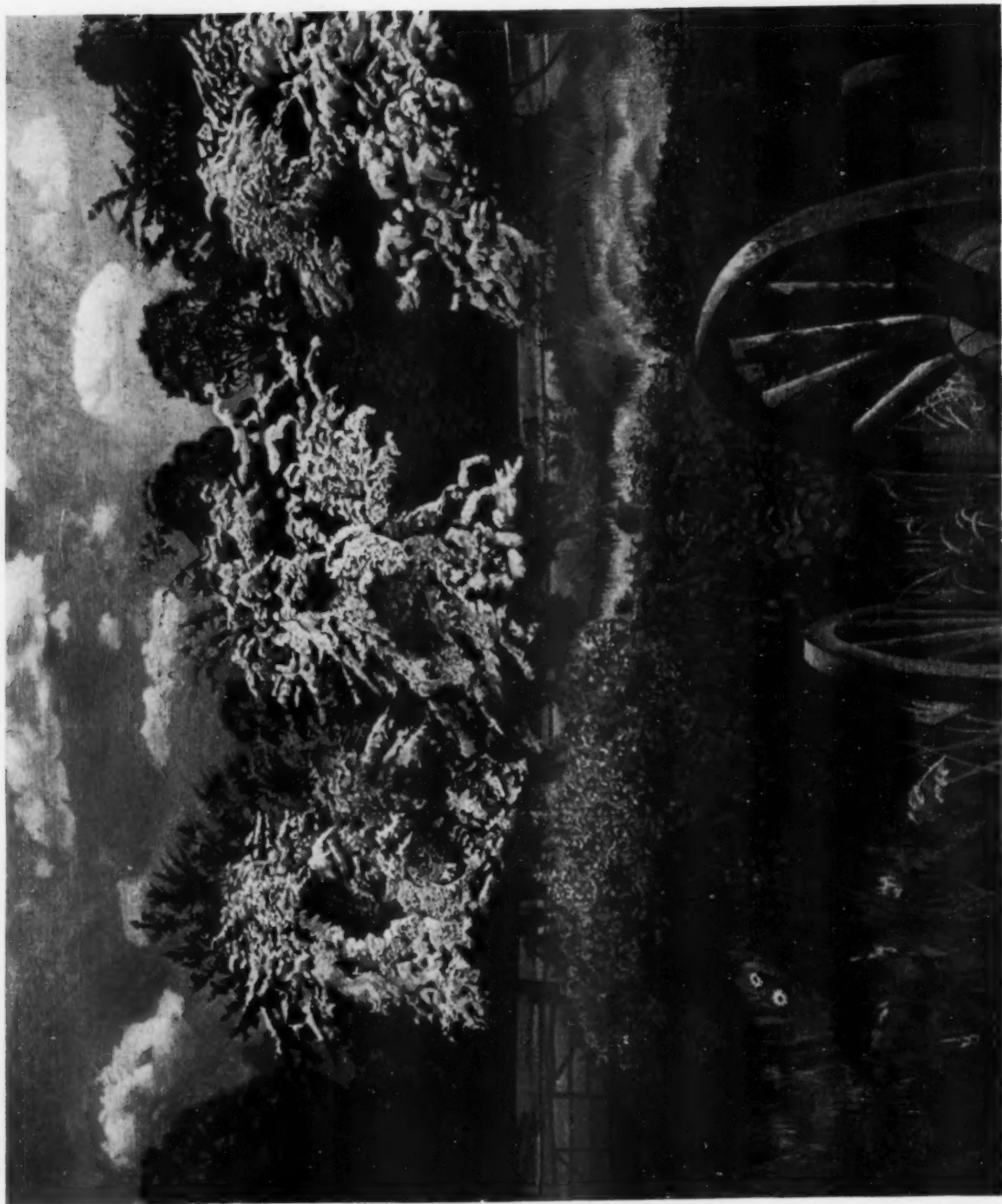
The national characteristics which ensure Britain's place in the world of art are, like that of any other European national school, a product of many individual artists forming a racial, climatic and traditional whole. But in the case of England, the long tenuous thread of tradition seemed about to snap in the second half of the last century. A combination of domestic industrialism and the overwhelming power of the French School

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produced British artists who, if they were not completely submerged by Paris, painted sentimental illustrations or escaped to "aesthetic" dilettantism. Nevertheless, the fundamentals of British painting were still there, though dormant, and they gradually re-asserted themselves. The new art made use of the recent discoveries of the French school, receiving first the Anglo-French stimulus of the New English Art Club, but the ideas and techniques became once more British. With the fall of France in 1940, the last traces of British humility in the face of French art disappeared.

It is safe to characterize British painting in a general way by calling it aristocratic, lyric, sometimes almost literary. I do not mean that it is necessarily descriptive, although nonrepresentational art has never found favor in England for any length of time; and even today the abstractions of Ivon Hitchens are in terms of natural objects. Several traditional factors rescue British painting from any hint of the prosaic. The most important of these is a love of soft, rich, wet color. The painterly approach of Hogarth, Gainsborough and Constable was adopted enthusiastically by the French, and returned through the French impressionists to revitalize the British painting. A late outcropping of this predilection is the work of the Parisian Matthew Smith with his rich emotional colors tempestuously handled. A faery, poetic, mystic quality has also occasionally come to the surface. Thus Blake and Samuel Palmer have been adopted by several of the modern painters, particularly by Graham Sutherland and Paul Nash. Although the landscapes representing the former artist in the Massey collection do not make this entirely clear, we find more than a hint of it in Paul Nash's light quivering landscapes, such as *The Vale of the White Blackbird* or in his tortured scenes of wartime debris. But returning to more literary trends, Stanley Spencer, considered by many to be the most interesting artist in Britain today, retreats altogether from abstraction with a Pre-Raphaelite love of detail, as in his *Marsh Meadow*.

Landscape and portraiture, or their combination in the sporting picture, have always been the special interests of British artists. The first betrays an intense love of the open country, a love born of long acquaintance with easily accessible but remote parts. The Massey collection is naturally, therefore, rich in landscapes. Among the eight Paul Nashes, four are in this category. In them we find an extensive use of the pink-browns and rust colors so often seen in the British landscape, combined with fresh greens, powdery blues and whites. In his paintings, and to a lesser extent in those of Hitchens and Sutherland, form and color seem to have set up a sympathetic vibration.

Portraiture is a subject difficult to assess in the light of modern aesthetics. The picture must necessarily bear a close relationship to its subject and hence there is a danger of artistic values being neglected. However, British portraiture has usually combined vision with representation. The earliest portrait painters, for so long the only painters in Britain, culminated in the brilliant masters of the art in the eighteenth century. The academic continuation of this type of work was almost suicidal, but the Massey collection reveals that there has been an independent revival of excellent portraiture. One thinks immediately, of course, of Augustus John, who has wandered about Britain in search of stimulating subjects. Graham Bell has called him an instinctive portraitist rather than a painter. His Welsh romanticism, his vitality and his enthusiasm are brought into play by interesting encounters, and his skill in quickly grasping the sitter's character and in suggesting that character with vigorous sensitivity or even brutality give his work its unique quality.

The two great antitheses of the early part of the century were P. Wilson Steer and Walter Sickert. Steer combined French impressionism with a study of the earlier English masters, Con-



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ITALIAN, 17TH CENTURY, *Princess Anna Colonna Barberini*
Buffalo, Albright Art Gallery

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stable, Gainsborough and Turner. Sickert, an international, professed the leadership of Degas, Whistler and the French Realists. The Impressionist-Realist group around these two men—Charles Conder, Augustus John, Sir William Rothenstein, Ambrose McEvoy, Sir William Nicholson, J. D. Innes, Derwent Lees and Sir William Orpen were among them—established twentieth century British painting on a sound basis. Roger Fry's Post-Impressionist exhibition of 1910, followed by the shattering experience of the war, produced John and Paul Nash, William Coldstream, Christopher Wood, Victor Pasmore, C. R. Nevins and Edward Wadsworth. The younger artists like Tristram Hillier, Richard Eurich, Ivon Hitchens, John Piper and Lawrence Gowing are attacking their problems in a new way. Among the older men there has also been rapid progress and a new freedom. All of these interesting developments are borne out in the collection at Ottawa.

The active pleasure and new knowledge to be gained by this exciting collection will make the Massey collection a point of interest not only to all Canadians interested in art, but to the whole continent.

ANNA COLONNA BARBERINI

A magnificent, life-sized statue, modeled in gilt bronze above a black marble pedestal, has been recently acquired by the Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo. The most important addition to the sculpture collection in several years, this portrait represents an Italian princess of the seventeenth century, Donna Anna Colonna Barberini, who died in Rome in 1658. She is represented in half-length, wearing the characteristic widow's weeds of her day, with a broad floating veil coming to a point on her forehead; her hands are placed in an attitude of prayer or ecstatic contemplation, but with the devout gesture goes an

expression of determination and force of character which immediately stamps the Princess as a person to be reckoned with. In an age of great minds and vaulting ambitions, Anna Barberini must have been a match for her most powerful rivals.

Historians, busy with Donna Anna's contemporaries, have failed to leave us a complete factual account of the great lady; nevertheless a good deal is known about her. She was born in 1601, the eldest daughter of Filippo Colonna, grand constable of Naples and scion of a family which proudly traced its origins back to the consuls of ancient Rome. The Colonna could count in their ranks several popes, many cardinals, soldiers, statesmen, and men of letters; Filippo's grandfather, Marc Antonio Colonna, was one of the leaders in the battle of Lepanto in 1571, when the forces of Christain Empire overcame the power of the Turk. Filippo himself saw service in Flanders and Germany with the troops of the King of Spain; as a youth he spent some time at the Spanish court.

Anna Colonna was one of eleven children. Brought up in Naples, in elegance and luxury, she must have known Mazarin, the future cardinal, whose father was intendant of Filippo Colonna's household and whose mother was a connection of the Colonna; as chamberlain he accompanied Anna's brother Girolamo (also destined to become cardinal) to the University of Alcala in Spain about 1619. Some twenty-five years later Mazarin, then cardinal and the most powerful figure at the French court, was to be of signal help to Anna and her husband during the latter's exile from Italy.

On October 24, 1627, Anna Colonna was married to Don Taddeo Barberini, Prefect of Rome and nephew of Pope Urban VIII, who had ascended the papal throne in 1623 and who officiated at the ceremony in Castel Gandolfo, in the presence of fourteen cardinals. The pope had just purchased from the Colonna family the title of Prince of Palestrina, to be conferred

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ENGLISH, EARLY 13TH CENTURY, *The Risen Christ Enthroned on the Rainbow*
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or Taddeo Barberini; his wife thus acquired the title of Princess.

For the next few years Anna and her husband enjoyed unrivaled power and prestige. Taddeo was a Grandee of Spain and held the Order of the Golden Fleece; he occupied the magnificent Barberini Palace in Rome, recently completed under the Pope's direction and boasting a famous library and collection of work of art. But when Urban VIII died in 1644, Barberini power was eclipsed. Taddeo, who had gone off to war two years earlier, met disastrous defeat and was forced to flee to Paris, where he was assisted by Cardinal Mazarin and died, an exile, in 1647.

After her husband's death Donna Anna lived in the Carmelite convent of Santa Maria Regina Coeli in Rome, which she and her husband had planned before his departure and of which the cornerstone had been laid in 1643. Deeply devoted to St. Theresa of Avila and said to have been inspired especially by her younger sister, a nun of that saint's reformed order of Carmelites in Rome, she provided the church with a richly ornamented ciborium and other furnishings and attracted many to entering the order. Apparently she continued to exert her influence in current affairs. She died in the convent on October 31, 1658.

The statue now owned by the Buffalo art museum originally stood in the church of Santa Maria Regina Coeli, on the Epistle side of the high altar, and constituted her memorial. As the inscription on the black marble slab indicates, it was set up by her son Niccolo Barberini, priest of the Congregation of the Oratory. Strangely enough the sculptor's name is at present unknown, but the artistic merit of the work and the importance of the Barberini and Colonna families, make it certain that the best talent of the time must have been employed.

The statue may have been placed during Donna Anna's lifetime, in honor of the founder and benefactress of the church, later to become her memorial. The portrait, as the inscription suggests, shows us with unsparing realism a proud, courageous and strong-willed woman, austere yet not ungracious. One who, having known earthly riches and power, and also adversity, turns finally to the consolations of religion and the hope of Heaven. Looking at the statue, one has the sense of being in the presence of a great and living personality. She is of the company of the citizens of the seventeenth century who sat to Velazquez and Rubens, to Frans Hals and Rembrandt.

The Gallery's portrait is known to have been in Santa Maria Regina Coeli by 1674, as it is described in a guide book of that year (Titi, *Studio di Pittura, Scultura*, etc.). Various subsequent accounts of Roman churches mention it. In 1870 the government closed the church and convent, but the disused church contained Donna Anna's monument until some time after 1877, in which year it was described by Forcella (*Iscrizioni delle Chiese e d'Altri Edifici di Roma*) as still in place in the left wall of the main altar. At this time the place was used as a prison, and a later building constructed on the same site is now a women's prison, the "Regina Coeli." At some date following 1877 the monument was removed from the church and installed in the Barberini Palace, being set in the wall of the main staircase of the library. It remained there, in the possession of the Barberini family until its purchase by the American dealer from whom the Albright Art Gallery acquired it.

A MANUSCRIPT PAGE OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

From an article by William M. Milliken in the *Bulletin* of the
Cleveland Museum of Art, September, 1946.

The *Majestas Domini* or *Rex Gloriarum* is the symbolic representation of the glory of the risen Christ—Christ the Mediator,



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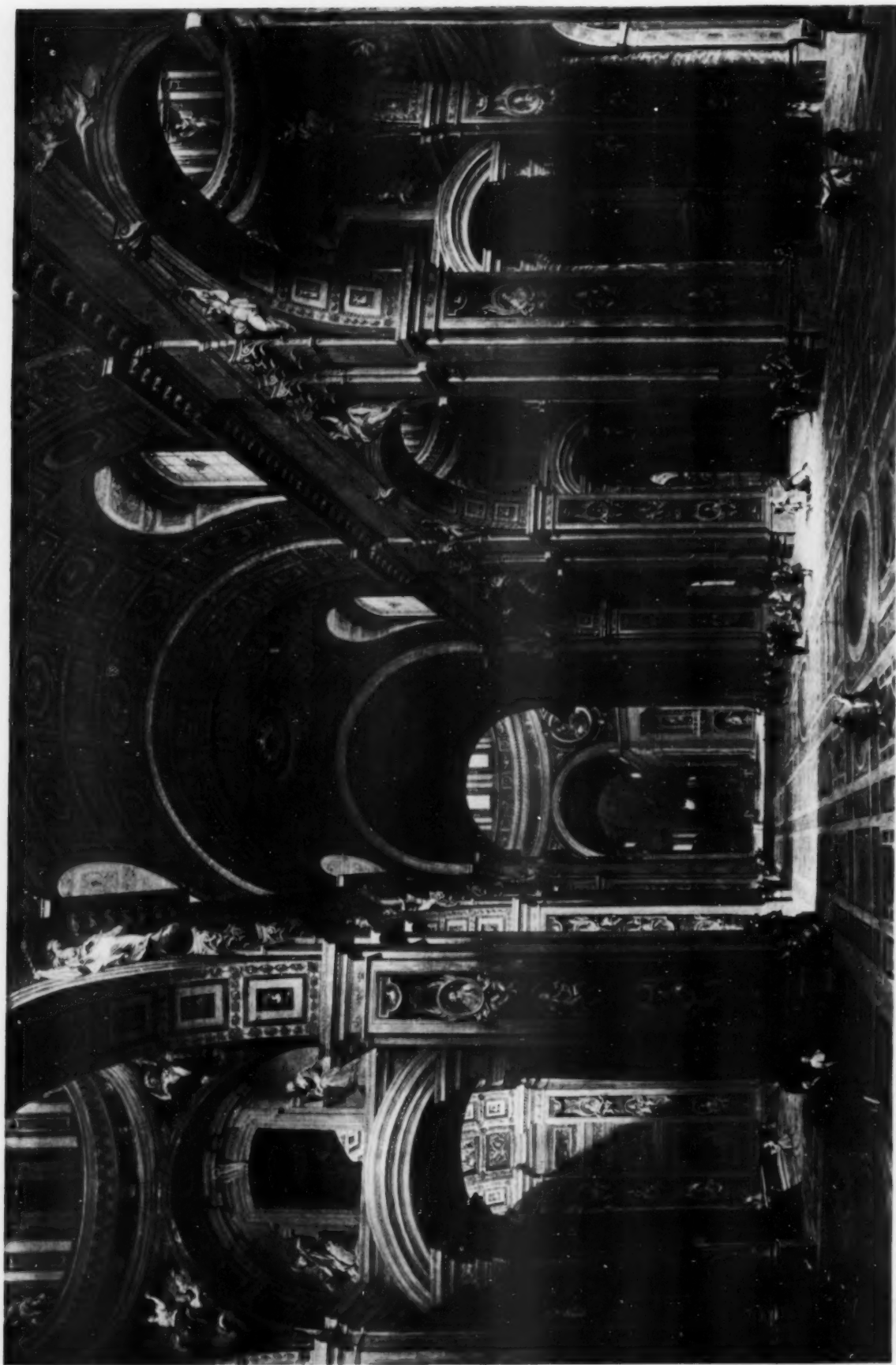


Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine
Hans Holbein the Elder

Old and Modern Masters

**E. & A. SILBERMAN
GALLERIES**

32 EAST 57th STREET, NEW YORK



GIOVANNI PAOLO PANNINI, *Interior of St. Peter's, Rome*
St. Louis, City Art Museum

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a motif which must be differentiated clearly from that of Christ the Judge. This theme goes back to the second century and as a subject was widely used in the apse decoration of churches in early Christian times.

About the ninth century a formal type of the risen Christ figure evolves: the Pantocrator, the Omnipotent, who sits in frontal position on a throne or on a rainbow, surrounded by an aureole, or mandorla. His right hand is raised in blessing; in His left hand He holds the open Book of Life, on which the Alpha and Omega is inscribed or the words: *Lux mundi*, "Light of the world," or *In Principio erat verbum*, "In the beginning was the Word." Only occasionally is the book closed.

The Cleveland Museum of Art, through the Mr. and Mrs. William H. Marlatt Fund, has been fortunate enough to acquire a beautiful painted representation of this subject: a page from an illuminated manuscript, English, dating to the first half of the thirteenth century. In it Christ, who sits enthroned on a rainbow, His bare feet upon a footstool, is placed in a quatrefoil—a four-lobed mandorla, or aureole. The book in His right hand is closed, and He is flanked by two pricket candlesticks. In the corners outside the aureole, in half circles, are the four symbols of the Evangelists.

The Evangelists are always associated with the risen Christ, and their symbolic representations are derived from the vision of the Prophet Ezekiel and from the poetic ideas of the Apocalypse of St. John. The Evangelist symbols are always placed in proper precedence according to the excellence of their natures, beginning on the right hand of Christ: the angel of St. Matthew, the eagle of St. John, the lion of St. Mark and the ox of St. Luke.

The rather unusual representation of the candlesticks in the Museum accession has likewise to do with the Apocalypse. The church is said to be a candlestick holding aloft a burning Christ.



The Anxious Moment (14x20")
J. G. Brown, 1875

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SCHOOL OF JAN BRUEGHEL THE ELDER, *Noah's Ark*
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery

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The magnificence of the whole presentation culminates in the Christ figure. The aureole is a vestment of light, a radiation of light from His body. The golden field of the aureole is nothing more than heaven itself, the abode of God.

The miniature is most effective in its design, with the slim erect figure of the Christ accentuated by His upraised hand and the pricket candlesticks. His blue tunic is lined with red, and the white robe with pink. The golden background behind the Christ and the Evangelist symbols is framed by the red and white of the aureole and the half circles. The whole is on a blue ground. This combination of rose, white, and blue, with the leaf-gold, achieves a color pattern of rare felicity.

The illuminated miniature may be associated with several famous manuscripts: a leaf from the Psalter, English, thirteenth century in the British Museum; a leaf from the Psalter of Robert de Lindeseye, Abbot of Peterborough, thirteenth century, before A.D. 1222; a leaf from a Psalter written for a Nun of Amesbury Abbey, Wilts., about A.D. 1250.

The Christ figure of the Cleveland page is more monumental than that in any of these, and it seems fair to date it in the early thirteenth century. It is much simpler and more archaic than the representation in the leaf last named above. The facial type, with the eyes closely spaced and the curious wig-like hair are English. It was a time of much French influence, but these English characteristics are corroborated by the graphic treatment of the drapery, with its linear edges, which is a distant reflection of the English Winchester style.

"INTERIOR OF ST. PETER'S ROME"

BY GIOVANNI PAOLO PANNINI

The City Art Museum of St. Louis has recently acquired an

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Blue Marine

(17x22")

Albert P. Ryder

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oil painting by the eighteenth century Italian artist Giovanni Paolo Pannini (1691/2-1765). *Interior of St. Peter's, Rome* was executed by Pannini to commemorate the visit of Cardinal Melchior de Polignac, French ambassador to the Vatican from 1725 to 1732. It was formerly in two outstanding English collections, those of Lord Gwydir and L. W. Neeld.

Giovanni Paolo Pannini was born in Piacenza, Italy in 1691 or 1692, where as a youth he studied architecture. In 1717 he went to Rome to study art under Benedetto Luti. There he painted the monuments and buildings of ancient architecture in the Roman area, decorating his pictures with groups of gracefully designed figures.

Interior of St. Peter's, Rome displays Pannini's masterful interpretation of architectural perspective, the monotony of which is relieved by the animated figures that characterize his work. The large canvas (57 by 87 inches) graphically gives the immensity and grandeur of the church. Looking up the vast nave, the great scale of the edifice dwarfs the figures of laymen and clergy pictured in various attitudes—some kneeling in prayer or adoration, others strolling about amid its polychrome marbles, mosaics, painted frescoes and sculptured elegance. At the base of the last column on the right, just before the transept crosses the nave, is the famous statue of St. Peter, the right foot of which is worn away by the countless kisses of the devout. In the distance is the High Altar beneath the awe-inspiring dome designed by Michelangelo. The painting is outstanding in its expression of space, richness of color and careful execution.

A NOAH'S ARK OF THE SCHOOL OF JAN BRUEGHEL THE ELDER

By Edward S. King

The Walters Art Gallery has added to its Flemish landscapes of the generation of Tobias Verhaeght, Lucas van Valckenborch and Jan (Velvet) Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625), an altogether characteristic panel painting in the style of the last named. Since most of the many pictures which issued from Jan's flourishing workshop at Antwerp are unsigned, it is safer to label them, like the present unscripted work, as "school of" the man who established their very consistent manner.

In its figured parts the *Noah's Ark* is an entertaining and quite literal interpretation of Genesis, chapter 7, in which Noah, his wife, their three sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth and their wives prepare to enter the ark, with a pair of "every beast of its kind of everything that creepeth upon the earth, and of every bird of every sort, two and two, of all the flesh wherein is the breath of life."

Jan and his helpers repeated numerous motifs in a more or less precise fashion on various paintings composed of similar elements. Thus we discover the pair of dogs barking at water fowl, peering parrot, the horse and one of the leopards of the Walters picture re-occurring in the London National Gallery's *Garden of Eden*. The bull and the pawing leopard are used again in The Hague's painting of the same subject (ca. 1620), in which Rubens executed the figures of Adam and Eve and which both men signed. It will be recalled that Rubens and Brueghel were close friends and that they collaborated on a number of pictures. The leopard pair of the *Noah's Ark* reappear identically in Rubens' lost picture of a *Nymph and Satyr* (ca. 1610-15), known only by Varin's engraving, which was published in a previous number of this periodical (vol. IX, p. 28). Here the reclining animal paws the air meaninglessly, since there is no inciting bull present. Apparently the lost painting is another instance of joint authorship, wherein Brueghel lifted one of his stock figures from its original context. It seems very unlikely that Rubens would have borrowed the

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leopard from his friend in so mechanical a fashion. Brueghel, or an assistant, has done just that in the Walters painting, in borrowing from Rubens' Berlin *Neptune and Amphitrite* (ca. 1615?), the lion which snarls without the provocation offered by the equally irate tiger of Rubens' composition.

The landscape of the *Noah's Ark*, of a kind of idyllic homeliness, is made up of those deep vistas and *allées* of the forest which Rubens turned to such dynamic account about 1620.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS IN THE FIELD OF ART

RATHBONE, PERRY T. *Charles Wimar, 1828-1862, Painter of the Indian Frontier*. City Art Museum of St. Louis, 1946. 77 pages, 35 illus.

This excellent catalogue will serve as a permanent record of all the known work of Charles Wimar, the American romantic painter of St. Louis, whose ambition was "to be the pictorial recorder of the American Indian as Audubon had been of the flora and fauna" of this country. Like Audubon he was inspired by an intense love of his subject. His Düsseldorf training gave him an academic technique, which he was in the process of freeing and vivifying when he died prematurely at thirty-four. The exhibition and Mr. Rathbone's careful and sympathetic essay should establish Wimar's reputation that "altogether he captured in his paintings the tang and spirit of the life of the plains as no other artist of his generation."

HOWE, WINIFRED E. *A History of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1905-1941. Problems and Principles in a Period of Expansion*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1946. \$3.00.

This is the second volume of the history of the Metropolitan Museum, of which the first volume, issued in 1913, covered the period from 1870 to that date. A careful review of the growth of a great institution, this volume covers in its chapters the men who guided the museum, the history of the building and its administrative elements, the growth of its collections, its changing exhibitions and other attractions, its methods of interpreting its collections, its provisions for students, relations with industry, personnel methods, museum extension, and the development of its first branch museum, The Cloisters. Appendices give the list of its benefactors, trustees and officers, staff, and a list of one hundred important purchases during this forty years of the museum's life.

MCCAUSLAND, ELIZABETH, M.A. *The Life and Work of Edward Lamson Henry N.A. 1841-1919*, with an introductory note by Charles C. Adams. New York State Museum (Albany, New York) *Bulletin* no. 339. 381 pages, 262 illus.

The family of the artist gave to the New York State Museum in 1940 a very large collection of the sketch books, papers, sketches, photographs, paintings and other materials left by the genre painter E. L. Henry. These have been organized with admirable care by Miss McCausland into a biography, critical study and catalogue of Henry's works, forming an exceptionally complete documentation of the artist. A memoir by the artist's wife is included.

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